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EDITED BY

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING

Ohio State University

HANS KURATH

Ohio State University

SAMUEL MOORE

University of Michigan

EDWARD SAPIR

University of Chicago

VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES

Volume II, 1932

VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated
Mantras of the Veda

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

*Late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in The Johns Hopkins University*

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in Yale University*

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PREFACE

This second volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS deals primarily with Phonetics, included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rime words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important.

The general plan and objects of the VEDIC VARIANTS have been described in the Preface to Volume I, *The Verb* (Philadelphia, 1930), which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's. In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me. I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters: those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them. To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter. In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials. This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists.

Cordial thanks are again due to the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA and to the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

Dr Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on Noun Inflection. With his able and vigorous co-operation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon. Dr Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb) Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute, that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTORY

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV, the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in

pra vācam (9 35 4a *vājam*) *indur iṣyati* RV 9 12 6a, 35 4a,
'Soma sends forth speech (substance)' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf. *RVRep* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

§2. More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j*

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛṇaḥ hasāya* RV AV TA,
'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth'. For some reason *prāñco*, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittiriya the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra + añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas*, RV). The commentator's *prāñjah* = *prāñcah* is negligible, TA must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'.

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist, they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus

ud usryāh sṛjate (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB ,

'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together' (The TB comm seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools *utsacata udgatatvena sambaddhān karoti prasārayatīty arthah*) The TB reading is inappropriate, but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *r*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *sṛj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac*. Note, in passing, that the TB reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate sacā*. Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *sṛjate*. Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds. Cf. Winternitz in his edition of ApMB, Introduction, xv ff., and xxx.

§4 Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology. Concretely speaking. If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *r* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhṛn*°) RV SV

Here the RV has an obvious Prakritism which the SV 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic *durhṛn*°. This does not mean that the SV knows more Sanskrit than the RV, the RV itself knows the stem *durhṛn*- (1.84.16, 7.59.8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation. On the other hand, in the variant

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ MŚ ,

who can decide definitely whether the *a* or *u* for *r* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Bohtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *samkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ*. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *r* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *sṛjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts. Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5 Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments. At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word. By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6 We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics. Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character. Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grabh* and *grah*.

§7 Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting. The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *kṣ*, *ṭṣ*, *ps*, and *ch*). The numerous variations of labial stops with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon).

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant. Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized. The tendency of the Taituriya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i*. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *d* and *l*, or *dh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).

§9 With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between

ś and *s*, a much smaller number between *ś* and *ṣ*, and a very small number between *s* and *ṣ*. The first two groups contain a considerable number of purely phonetic variants. Between *s* and *h* occur only lexical variants and corruptions, not numerous, but not lacking in interest.

§10 Next, a section on insertion or omission of consonants: first of nasals and *anusvāra*, cases which show a marked tendency to harmonize with a shift in quantity of the preceding vowel. Then of *y*, very numerous but mostly morphological (e.g. words identical in meaning but containing or lacking suffixal *y*). But there are groups of phonetic interest, such as that concerning *y* between vowels as sandhi-consonant or 'hiatus-tilger', and *y* after palatals, or after two consonants. Presence or absence of *r* does not display much interest, but that of *v* includes some cases of *v* initial before vowels, partly as 'hiatus-tilger' after a vowel. Cases of presence or absence of *h* and *s* mostly concern initial *s* before stops, and initial *h* before vowels (a sort of psilosis), those of *visarga* point to the light pronunciation of that sound as word-final.

§11 The consonantal variants are concluded with sections on single and double consonants, on assimilation of consonants (with suggestions of Prakritism), and on simplification of consonant groups.

§12 The treatment of the vowels begins with the variations in quantity of simple vowels. Most important and numerous are those between *a* and *ā*, especially the rhythmic lengthening of final *a*. Much light is thrown on the meaning of this phenomenon, our conclusions can hardly be stated in a few words and can best be deduced from the section itself. The variants between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are in general parallel to those between *a* and *ā*, but much less numerous. The numerous shifts in quality between *a*, *i*, and *u* vowels are mostly morphological or lexical in character. On the other hand those between vocalic liquids and *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are largely Prakritic, and of great interest, most numerous are those between *r* and *a*. The variations between diphthongs and simple vowels, and between long and short diphthongs, while mainly morphological (varying grades of ablaut, and presence or absence of the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation), harbor also some phonetic or dialectic differences.

§13. The variations between *r* and *ar* or *ār*, more rarely *r* and *ir* (*īr*) or *ur* (*ūr*), mainly concern ablaut, and involve also dialectic and lexical shifts. The phenomena of '*samprasāraṇa*' show that the variations of *va* (*vā*) with *u* vowels, of *ya* (*yā*) with *i* vowels, and of *ra* (*rā*) with *r* are mainly morphological or lexical, on the other hand variations of *ri* (*rī*)

and *ru(rū)* with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*

§14 Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis), the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h*. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *v* (as *i* and *u*)

§15 Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining), then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplogy and dittology

§16 Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values. The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson

§17 A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably

§18 Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind, they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back

§19 The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one. A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section

PRAKRITIC INFLUENCES

§20 We have at this point refrained from preliminary illustrations in the set rubrics which have established themselves under our hands. There is, however, one kind of interchange which runs as a red thread thru Vedic tradition, and which is so important that it should receive special treatment and emphasis. We refer to shifts which suggest possible dialectic influence from popular speech, by their resemblance to the phonetics of the later Middle-Indic dialects (Cf especially Wackernagel I, p. XVIII, with references there quoted, and for a brief preliminary outline of our materials, Edgerton in *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 25 ff.) The large mass of variants of this kind, clearly pointing to extensive influence of Middle-Indic phonetics in the earliest periods of the language, seems to us one of the most important results of this volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The principle, to be sure, is not new. But it has never before been illustrated so extensively, and the special character of the illustrations, namely the occurrence of double forms of the variants, with and without Prakritic phonetics, makes them especially valuable and interesting. Moreover, some of the rubrics here included are, we believe, now presented for the first time in Vedic phonology. We find, all in all, the most definite proof of phonetic changes not only in the direction of Prakritism, but also (no less interesting) in the reverse direction, 'hyper-Sanskritism,' which latter indicates a rather definite consciousness, on the part of the handlers of the texts, of the antithesis between the phonetics of the high speech and of the popular dialects.

§21 Taking up such variations in the order of their occurrence in our book, we find at the very outset a large number of variations between surds and sonants, some of which seem to defy lexical explanation, and to be capable of interpretation only as quasi-Prakritic phonetic variants (See Chapter II, especially §§47-9, 53, 59, 66, 69.) Thus

pakah (KSA *ṇṇakah*) *kṣvāñkā nīlaśṛṇī te 'ryamne* (KSA *'ryamnah*) TS

KSA. No form but *paka* is known outside of this KSA passage *citrā etagvā* (TB *edagvā*) *anumādyāśah* RV MS TB. A pure Prakritism in TB, the comm. does not explain the form. Cf. the next, in which MS seems to have a hyper-Sanskritism, the reverse of this *diśām devy* (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtāci* TS MS. All *mas* and *p p* of MS agree on *tevy*, if it means anything at all, it would seem to be a laetic (nursery) word for 'mother'. But it is doubtless merely a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism. Cf. *mālṛk* (for *māḍṛk*) TA 1.5.1, and §66.

khaḥāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB *bajābajopakāśinī* HG Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure

§22 The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism, we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76-7)

mā nah kaścat prakhān (ApŚ *praghān*) KS ApŚ
svāyām tanū (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) †*tvye* (RV † †*tvye*) *nādhāmānām*
 (ApMB *nātha*°, MG *bādha*°) RV ApMB MG

§23 Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is, but see Wackernagel I p. 252f, who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, KZ 17. 258ff.

asamheyam [perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*?] *parābhavan* JB *asambhavyam* *parā*° AV. See §121.

grāhrah śitukakṣī vārdhrānasas te dvyāh (KSA *vārkhīnasas te 'dityāh*) TS KSA. So the single ms. of KSA, v. Schroeder emends to *vārdhri*°, the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms. reading. See §122.

kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ *kakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam ṛṣa*°) *rocate* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. The adjective *kakuhā* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV, where *kakubha* is not known. See §120.

§24 Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154-61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic bearings, the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG.

sahasṛīyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatām*, MS °*ṛīyo jyotatām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

ava jyām va dhanvanah AV Vait. ApMB *ava dyām va dhanvrihah* HG

§25. On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below, §163.

avatasya (SV *avatasya*) *visarjane* RV SV. We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avata*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore.

§26 The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf. Wackernagel I §135). Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *kṣ*, *ṭ*, *ps* (§§183-6), in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following

achalābhīh (KSA *acharā°*, MS *alsarā°* in p p, in s p *matsarā°*, VS *rkṣalā°*) *kapīñjalān* VS TS MS KSA The same word appears as *rcharā* in AV 10 9 23 Either MS. or VS (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations

§27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *kṣ* (§§190-1) Tho the Tait form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚŚ has a corruption of it

idhmasyeva prakṣāyatah (ŚŚ *prakhya°*) TB TA ŚŚ ApŚ

§28 There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *y* (§§192-3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically Cf Wackernagel I §§188b 140b In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival

sauryāmam (ŚG *sauryāmam*, with both sc *tarpayām*) AG ŚG —Cf AV 19 34 2a, *yāḡṛtsyas tripañcāśiḥ* (mss, wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāh* (or *yāśi ca*) *kṛtyās*, or *yā ḡṛtsyas*, see Whitney's note to Transl, and our §192

§29 The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf Wackernagel I p 197, it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5) That between *b* and *v* (§§206-19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not, cf Wackernagel I p 183f

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañcasva*) *prthivi mā nū bādhatāh* (TA *vi bādhatāh*) RV AV TA

yatra bānāh (VS *vānāh*) *sampatanti* RV SV VS TS AG Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV in this word, it is not known which is original

§30 The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf Wackernagel I p 225f) A few examples out of many may be quoted here, for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274-9

vi srutayo (AŚ *visrutayo*, ŚŚ *viśru°*) *yathā pathah* SV AŚ ŚŚ And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow') Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary The contrary is the case in the next

śukeṣu me (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ

§31 Much less numerous are the variations between *s* and *ś*, yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288-90)

nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (VS *arṣat*) VS VSK ĪśāU The proper form is *arṣat*, VS comm. *ṛṣa galau*

§32 There are very few variations between *s* and *ṣ* (§294)

ye vrkṣeṣu (KS *vaneṣu*) *śaṣṭīñjarāḥ* (TS *saṣṭī*) VS TS MS KS

Thought of the word *saṣya* doubtless influenced TS, and cf *śaṣpa* for the other form (a kind of haplogy in each case), see §278

§33. The later confusion between *kh* and *ṣ* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense, cf Wackernagel I p 136) finds surprisingly little representation here, in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295)

kaṣotkāya svāhā TA TAA *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU

§34 There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *kh*, which must be similar in character, see §296 below

§35. Under presence or absence of nasals and *anusvāra* occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *sīha* for *sinha* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf §300)

pūṣṇe 'ñghṛṇaye svāhā TA *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em, mss *āprṇaye*) *svāhā*
MS *āghṛṇi* is regular

§36 Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tilger' (§§338-44) To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse, but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff)

varīsvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV VS TS MS KS

PB ŚB The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*

§37 In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pālī* §§5, 6 Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393-8), tho again complicated by other considerations

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyau*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS

ŚB TB (See §396) While the two parallel stems *rai* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to

§38 There are also (§§406-16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants, this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid

abhinne khilye (TB *khille*) *nṛdadhāt devayam* RV AV TB This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant, TB can mean nothing but an equivalent of *khulye* (comm *khulibhūte*)

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629-45) The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *r* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhṛṇ°*) RV SV The SV restores Sanskrit vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV

tejo yaśasvi sthāvīram samuddham (ŚG *samṛddham*) ŚG PG ApMB HG Here ŚG alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a *v* 1 *samuddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*?)

puramdaro gotrabhū (MS *°bhṛd*, TB *mughavān*) *vajrabāhuh* VS MS KS TB A hyper-Sanskritism in MS, see §636

tvāṣṭrīmantas (MS MŚ *tvāṣṭri°*, ApŚ *tvāṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

samvatsara ṛtubhik samvidānah (KS *°bhik cāklpānah*, ApŚ *°bhik cākupānah*) MS KS ApŚ

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *r*, and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *r* as *ri* or (e.g. Marāṭhi) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants *ru* for *r* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants. Besides *tvāṣṭrīmantas* (*tvāṣṭri°*) etc., §39, we may quote from §§666-84

trṣucyavaśo (MS *trṣu°*) *juhvo nāgneh* RV MS The adverb *trṣu* is the only possible form here, the variant of MS is purely phonetic. *bhṛm* (TB *bhrum*) *dhāmanto apa gā avṛnata* RV TB The mss of TB seem to be unanimous on *bhrum*, an otherwise unknown form

pruṣvā aśrubhah VS MS *aśrubhah pruṣvām* (TS *prṣ°*) TS KSA The form *pruṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait texts, it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703-12, 728-32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic. Among the clearest phonetic variants are

avārāya kevarṭam VS *pāryāya kavartam* TB The usual form is *kar°* *sukurīrā svopaśā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS Several mss of MS and its p p read *svopaśā*

§42. The familiar Prakritic reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744-9, e.g.

namah kṛṣṇāya ca kṣayanāya (MS *kṣenāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

kṣena is otherwise unknown

to-to (MS KS MŚ *tava-tava*, TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rāyah* VS TS MS KS

ŚB ApŚ MŚ

§43 The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *ɪ*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751–65)

lan nah paṛṣad (MS *paṛṣad*) *atī dviṣah* TS MS Cf Wackernagel

I p 57

CHAPTER II SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44 These are treated in the following order *k* and *g*, *c* and *ḡ*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh* (For *g* and *kh* see §82, *t* and *dh*, §97f, *p* and *bh*, §§112-14) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original

k and *g*

§45 We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate, both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools

athāham anukāminī (MŚ °*gāminī*) TS ApŚ MŚ How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV 1 34 5cd, *yathā mām kaminy aso yathā man nāpaga asah* Yet MŚ (all mss) is no doubt secondary

grnatā nah vṣṭaye AV *kṛnutam nah sṛṣṭim* (MS KS °*tam*) VS TS MS KS 'Sing for us unto well-being', 'make well being for us' The meter of AV is easier, but the *āprī* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf Bloomfield, *Ātharvaveda* 54, Keith, *HOS* 18 clx) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be The word *grnatā* is preceded by *grnata* (other forms of *grn*° in the other Samhitās), this suggests that *grnatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnuām (MS °*hnā*) *cikṛtnū* (MS *cikṛttam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikṛtvam*) TS MS KS AŚ *cikṛtnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent', tho not quoted in the lexicons) and *jigatnū* of KS ('swift') are both reasonable See RV 7 65 1, where *jigatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuna (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2 50)

namah kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namah MS KS *namo grtsebhyo grtsapatibhyaś* VS TS See §185

tato na vicikitsati (VSK IśāU *vjugupsate*) VS VSK IśāU *na tato vjugupsate* KU *na tadā vicikitsati* ŚB BṛhU 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate The Kāṇva recension of BṛhU has *jugupsate* Cf AV 13 2 15b

dhīpsyam vā samcakara janebhyah MS *yad vādāsyam samjagārā jan-ebhyah* TB *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA Cf *dāsyann adāsyann uta sam grnāmi* (TA and AVPPP *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV TA *adāsyann agna uta sam grnāmi* AV In all these passages *sam-gr* seems to mean 'devour, eat', tho doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV 6 71 3 and 6 119 1) If 'devour' is right, *sam-cakara* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning

§46 We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*

ukhām (ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ *aganma*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading, see VV I p 211

urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran AV *ūrvam gavyam pariśudanto agman* RV KS The original RV, 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV, 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney)

vadhūr jajāna (AV *jigāya*, MS KS *mimāya*) *navagaḥ* (ŚG *navahṛj*) *janitrī* AV VS TS MS KS ApMB ŚG See Whitney on AV 3 10 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagaḥ*, the European guesses are scarcely better ŚG tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand *imam loṣam* (TA *lokam*) *nīdadhan mo aham riṣam* RV AV TA 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury' TA *lokam* (after *imam*, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here The comm in fact interprets it as *loṣtam* (= *loṣam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate dṛśyate iti loko loṣtah*!) Some mss and the comm of AV read like TA, however

pary āgāram (AŚ *ākāram*) *punah-punah* AV AŚ ŚŚ Only *āgāram* makes sense, something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form' The preceding (in AV, preceding but one) *pāda* is *yadī* (*yadīm*, *lehm*) *hanat katham hanat*

indrāpāsya phaligam ApMB *indrāyayāsya śepham alikam* HG
The correct reading is certainly *phaligam*

mano jagāma dūrakam (PB *dūragāh*) RV PB The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*, *dūragāh* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next *pāda*, *tan ma āvartayā punah* This, according to the PB comm, who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāh* does not fit at all) *rājānah satyam kṛtvānāh* (AV *gṛhnānāh*, but Ppp *kṛtvāno*) RV AV Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better

lasya rathagṛtsas (MS **kṛtsnaś*, KS **kṛtsaś*) *ca rathaujās ca senānī-grāmanya* (TS *senānī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The word *ratha*^o is a proper name, 'chariot-clever', **kṛtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to **kṛtsna*, which does not fit

abhūr gr̥tīnām (AV **v āpīnām* ms, R-Wh *vaśānām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc, ApMB and one ms of HG *āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipā u* (HG ApMB **pāvā*) AV (bis) HG ApMB *bhavā kṛtīnām* (AV *gr̥*^o, but Ppp *kṛ*^o) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV **pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG See Whitney on AV 19 24 5, Roth, ZDMG 48 110 The word must mean 'people', 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyana's ludicrous attempt to justify it)

prānān samkrośaiḥ MS *samkrosān prānaiḥ* (VS **krośaiḥ prānān*) VS TS *samghoṣān* (ms **goṣān*) *prānaiḥ* KSA Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA (*ś* for *ṣ*, loss of *r*) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant

§47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools

nīkīrya tubhyam abhya āsam Vait *nīkīrya tubhyam madhye* ApŚ *nīgīrya tubhyam madhvah* MŚ *nīgīrya sarvā ādhīh* KŚ The passages are unintelligible, *kīr*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *nī*, which points, perhaps, to *nīgīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvah* in MŚ)

tena samhanu kṛnmasi AV *tena sann anugṛhñasi* HG The meaning of AV is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note) The individually irreproachable words of HG mouth over an uncomprehended text Cf §386

arepasah sacetasah (etc) *svasare manyumattamās* (SV ApŚ °*mantaś*) *cīte goh* (SV *cūtā goh*, ApŚ *cūdākoh*) SV AV ApŚ MŚ *cūdākoh*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem **cūdāku*, is corrupt
śakma yat te goh MS KS *sagme* (TS *samyat*) *te goh* VS TS ŚB 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS KS, perhaps correctly and originally In VS ŚB *sagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma* But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*) It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam* VS comm, followed by Griffith, *sagme yajamāne* (!), *goh gauh* (very simple!) BR read in TS *sampātte* with one ms (p p *samyāt*, *te*), but the comm, followed by Weber, IST 13 107, takes *samyāt* as = *samyak* So also Keith ('to match thy cow') BR regard *sampātte* as = *sagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel', they render 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst' They therefore derive *sagma* from *sa* and *gam*

rudra yat te krayī (VS KS *krui*, VSK *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri*-) *param nāma tasmai* (VS MS ŚB *tasmin*) *hutam asī* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible The reading *giri*- is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat

īdam aham sarpānām dandaśūkānām grīvā upa grathnāmī (MŚ miss *kṛtsnāmī*, Knauer conjectures *kṛnatmī*) TS ApŚ MŚ 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents' But *kṛtsnāmī* is not *kṛnatmī*, and the MŚ may have merely a corruption of TS, in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumān enam* etc, §48

Cf also *jāgrtsyas tripañcāsīh* etc, §192

§48 In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions

invakā (MS °*gā*) *nakṣatram* MS KS This name for the constellation Mṛgaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR (V 1144) only once more (TB 1 5 1 1) The priority of *invaka*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS may have felt the word as a compound of *inva* plus *ga*, *gā*

sā prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG HG ApMB
dhenukā is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milch cow'. In *dhenugā* there
 may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow',
 but the form is essentially Prakritic

āśuk kāṣṭhām wāśaran (read °*ram* with comm, Ppp, Whitney, and
 Bloomfield) AV 2 14 5b All mss *gāṣṭhām*, *kā*° is emendation
 Ppp also (ms) *gā*° (em Barret, JAOS 30 193, *kā*°), comm *glāṣṭhām*
pikah (KSA *piḡah*) *kāṣṭhā nīlasīrṣnī te* 'ryamne (KSA °*mna*) TS
 KSA The word is always *pika*, except here

śṛkāhaatā (TS KŚ *śṛkāvantā*, MS *śṛgavantā*, one ms *śṛka*°) *nāṣaṅginah*
 VS TS MS KS The stem concerned is always *śṛka* 'spear',
 except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation,
 perhaps based on these readings

namah śṛkāyibhyo (TS *śṛkāmbhyo*, MS *śṛgāyibhyo*) *jḡhāṇēadbhyah*
 VS TS MS KS See preceding

vināganakino (ŚB °*gno*) *devair imam yajamānam samgāyata* ŚB ApŚ
 Also *vināganakinah pūrvāḥ saha sukṛdbhī rājabhīr imam yaja-*
mānam samgāyata ApŚ *vināganaginah purānair imam yajamānam*
rājabhīḥ sādḥukṛdbhīḥ samgāyata ŚB Cf further KŚ 20 3 2
 Altho the compound *vinā*° does not occur outside these passages,
 its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it
 seems that it must contain *-ganaka*, with suffixal *ka*. Perhaps
 the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication
 from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm on ŚB and KŚ, both of which
 implausibly understand *vinā-gana* as meaning 'a quantity of
 [various kinds of] lutes'), cf Conc under *gāyatam*

puṇṛkasthalā (KS † *puṇṛjga*°) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu*°) *cāpasarasau*
 VS TS MS KS ŚB This name of an Apsaras appears in later
 literature, always with *k*

pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatī RV *pumān enad vayatī ud grnatī* AV
 See Whitney's note on AV 10 7 43 *grnatī* is doubtless a mere
 corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath*, *granth* 'tie',
 which with *ud* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛt*. More or less the
 reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *idam aham* etc

§49 In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence
 to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*, the words are almost
 or quite *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*

viryam kuḥābhyaṁ (KSA *gu*°) TS KSA A part of the horse's body
 For *ku*° the TS comm says, *hastayor madhyasamdhī* (cf *viṣu-kuḥ*)
 The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda'. Neither is
 recorded lexically

- pratīkramanam kuṣṭhābhyām* (KS *gu*^o) TS KSA *ākramaṇam ku*^o MS
Both otherwise unknown, like the preceding they designate a part
of the horse's body Bhāskara, *haṣṭāparārdhamanī*, Keith, 'the
two centres of the loins' Cf *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc
- agne kahya* MS KS MŚ (*agne*) *gahya* TS Neither in lexs, and
neither interpretable Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking
of *gāhya*)
- salīlah salīgah sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣānā vyantu svāhā* MS KS
lekah salekah sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣānā vyantu TS ApŚ
All isolated and uninterpretable
- grāmyamañḍīradāsakau* ApŚ *grāmyam mañḍīradāsakau* MŚ *vyāgh-*
ram mañḍīradāsa gauh Vait In Vait read *mañḍīradāsagau*, or
possibly with Caland, *°dāsakau* Two proper names, Mañḍīra or
Mañḍīra, and Dāsaka (or Dās^o), are involved
- namo vah kirīkebhyo* (MS MŚ *namo garīkebhyo*) *devānām hṛdayebhyah*
VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ In such a formula, of the Śatarudriya,
either epithet remains doubtful, tho *girīka*, of course, suggests
'mountain-born' like *girīka* etc The possibility of different lexical
interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably
purely phonetic
- uruka urukasya* (ApŚ *uruga urugasya*) *te vācā vayam sam bhaktena*
gamemahi (MS *°mahy agne gr̥hapate*) MS ApŚ Neither form is in
the lexs, *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland)
Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?
- vi te bhīnadmi takarīm* (KS *°rīm*, AVPpp [Roth] *tagarīm*, AV *mehanam*)
AV TS KS ApŚ There is no evidence as to the meaning of
takarī (*°rī*, *tag*^o) except the context and the variant *mehanam*,
and none whatever as to its derivation or original form

c and j

§50 Prakritic interchanges between the two sounds go in both
directions (Pischel, §202) This of itself makes difficult the appraisal
of their phonetic aspect in the variants Moreover all variations
produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that
priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority
of one or the other text We are unable to discover anything like a
concerted movement, either from c to j or vice versa But on the
whole we have the impression that the main current is from c to j, and
that it is Prakritic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aj* from *ud-ac*)

§51 Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam*. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV itself.

pra vācam (vājam) indur uryati RV (both)

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior, see *RVRep* 410. In the next following cases *vācam* is also original.

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu VSK *vācaspatir vācam* (VS *† 9 1, ŚB *† 5 1 1 16 *vājam*) *nah svadatu* VS KŚ ŚB SMB *vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti* (MS 'tu) *nah* (TB *te*, Poona ed *nah*) TS MS KŚ TB. The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary.

pavitranantah pari vācam (TA *vājam*) *āsate* RV TA N. The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

premam vājam vājasāte avantu AV *premām vācam vīśvām avantu vīśve* TS MS KŚ. In all texts the preceding pāda reads *marutām manve adhi no* (AV *me*) *bruvantu*. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV 3 14 1, 5 29, 3, 10 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests. AV is a banal recast.

vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam VS ŚB *vājam asmin ni dhehi devāyuvam* MS *tapojām vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam* TA. In MS a specious *lectio facilior*, *tapojām* in TA, as well as the *vip-rānām devayā vācas* of RV 5 76 1, prove that the other texts are right.

§52 In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word.

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS MŚ *sā samnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam* (MG *sanuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this)), or the like. *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam*. In MŚ *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Prati-prasthātr binds the woman as he recites this verse (*iti prati-prasthātā yoktreṇa patnīm samnahyati*), *vācam* is simple but secondary.

indram vājam vi mucyadhvam TS KŚ TB *indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam* MS MŚ. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ajīyapata*, cf *ajīyapatendram vājam* VS ŚB. As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required, *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvati', is far-fetched. Cf *vājajñc* and *vājajñyāyaz* in Conc.

asredhanā itana vājam aha RV *adroghāvitā vācam aha* AV. The

poor meter and general corruption of AV (in which RV 3 14 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible, see Whitney's note. The *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacasā* and *oṣasā*, *saṁ eti viśvā* (AV † *viśve*) *vacasā* (SV *oṣasā*) *patim dīwah* AV SV — Ppp evidently means to read *oṣasā*, its text, as quoted by Roth, has *viśvā oham ā*. This supports SV, tho the otherwise corrupt Śaunakīya text makes as good sense as its rivals 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer)' See, however, above under *vācam asme* §51.

§53 There are next a pair of rining variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schöpfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj*. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV 1 95 7 *uc chukram atkam ajate śmaśmāt*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved Stud* 2 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac*.

avīraghnūr ud ajantu (ApMB *acantu*) *āpah* AV ApMB 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons', cf *vyukṣat krūrām ud acantu āpah* ApMB 1 1 7 Weber, *Ind St* 5 198, and Whitney on AV 14 1 39 go the length of emending *ajantu* to *acantu*, which is doubtful practice (cf §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with *acantu*, despite RV 1 95 7 above.

saṁudrād udajanī vah (ApŚ *udacannī va*) *srucā* MS ApŚ. Here MS is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'.

§54 There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary, it seems that they divide the honors of originality.

caniṣṭhad (SV *ja*^o) *agne nīgīrah* RV SV. Little can be done with the anomalous *caniṣṭhad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906b, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 74 11), less with *janiṣṭhad*, tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.

sāvītro 'n canodhāh (MS *janadhāyāh*) VS MS ŚB Cf *tuttho 'sī janadhāyāh* (PB 'yah) MS KS PB MŚ *stuto 'sī janadhāh* TB ApŚ 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher)'.

The preponderance of texts favors *jana-*, there is no other criterion, both are reasonable enough.

§55 In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible.

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV TA See §2
devebhyaḥ tvā devāyuvam (KS *devānyam*) *prnacmi* (so MS by emendation,
 mss mostly *prnaymi*! ApŚ *prnaymi*) *yajñasyāyuse* MS KS ApŚ
 MŚ *prnaymi* (all mss of ApŚ) is supported by Dhātup and by
anavaprgna RV 1 152 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p 117
 and doubtfully by Whitney (*Roots*) under *prc* See however
 Scheftelowitz, *IF* 33 136, and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* 1 33 (root
 **parzg*) But the matter is uncertain, the forms with *g, j* may be
 based on root *prc*, and due to proportional analogy with other
 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain
 forms (e g, *bhanakti bhagna bhanajmi* = *prnakti prgna prnajmi*)
 —In this connexion also

upa mā jakṣur (!) *upa mā manīgā* KŚ 13 2 19, where *jakṣur* is either
 misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *cakṣur*

§56. In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the redupli-
 cation of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns, see §45
mītrāvaruṇā saradāhnām (MS **hnā*) *cakṛnū* (MS *cakṛtam*, KS *jigatnū*,
 AŚ *cakṛtam*) TS MS KS AŚ

tato na vicakṛsati (*vijugupsate*), etc
dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyaḥ, etc

§57 The remaining cases are miscellaneous

somah sulaḥ pūyate aṣyamānah (SV *sula ṛcyate pūyamānah*) RV SV
 Here the original form of root *aj* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV
 by *rc*, 'praise', a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency
tve kratum api vrñjanti viśve (AV **prñcanti bhūri*) RV AV (both) SV
 TS AA ApŚ MŚ 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind' The
 combination *api aprāk* once more AV 10 4 26, and nowhere else
 For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 281

agne vyacasva (RV MS *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS 'O Agni,
 make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth' AV
 has a contaminated lectio facilior, cf RV 10 111 2 *mahānti cit*
sam vivyācā rajānti, and the converse, RV 8 12 24, *na yam vivikto*
rodasī, or 10 112 4, *yasya muhāmānam ime mahī rodasī*
nāviviktām

divas (SV *dvah*) *prṣṭham adhi tṛṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV † *rohanṭi tejasā*) RV
 SV With metathesis of *c(j)* and *t*

ud usriyāḥ sṛjate (TB *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV SV TB See §3
anāhanasyam vasanam carīṣṇu (ApMB HG *ja*°, PG *jariṣṇuh*) ŚG
 PG ApMB HG As an epithet of a garment, *jariṣṇu* would mean
 possibly 'much worn' or the like, as an epithet of the subject,

aham (PG), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age' To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG) *ja*^o seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŚG *carisnu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend')

jāmum (KS † *camu*) *mā hviśir amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB ApŚ MŚ *mā jāmum moṣir amuyā śayānām* AV — The KS reading (of a single ms) should certainly be corrected to *jāmum*

gharmas triśug vi rājata (ŚŚ *rocate*) VS ŚB ŚŚ Hardly belongs here, *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājata*

yuktās tistro vimrjah (comm *vibhrjah*) *sūryasya* PB *yunajma tistro viprcāh sūryasya te* (MŚ *vivrtaḥ sūryah save* [or, *savah*]) TS ApŚ MŚ In PB the comm has two equally fatuous guesses on *vibhrjah* 'dividers' (of the sun) But there is little more sense in *viprcāh*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun), it seems to be applied collectively to *prthivī*, *vāyu*, and *vāc* It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR take it Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces', Caland and Henry, *Agniṣṭoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'

girā ca (AV *virājah*) *sruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP's mss (and his oral reciters) and the comm *śruṣṭiḥ* for *śru*^o Whitney adopts *sru*^o, which Ppp also intends with its *sunuṣṭas* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 207) See §865

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jatrūbhya*, MS *caṭrūbhya*, p p *vaṭrūbhyaḥ*) *ātrdah* (MS ^o*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB The original is obscure enough, but MS is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible Note its loss of final *h* (§384)

t and *d*

§58 We have found practically no variants here, the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (VV I p 217)

visvāvasam namasā gīrbhar īde (ApMB *ūte*) RV ApMB

t and *d*

§59 Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable

citrā etagvā (TB *eda*^o) *anumādyāsah* RV MS TB The comm on TB

ignores the word. The etymology of *etagva* (AJP 17 428) furnishes no opportunity for the change

pārāvataḡhnīm (TB °*daḡhnīm*) *avase suvṛktibhīh* RV MS KS TB N *pārāvataḡhnīm* (sc *sarasvatīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance'. TB comm has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *avadaghnīm*, root *daḡh*, something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank')

sa im pāhi ya ṛjīṇi tarutrah (VaradapU *tarudrah*) RV AB GB TB NṛpU VaradapU. Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudrah*, as if 'tree-cleaving'

ime 'rātsur ime subhūtām (MŚ *sūdam*) *akran* TB ApŚ MŚ. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdām*, for *subhūtām*, since it is followed immediately by

ima udvāsīkārīna (MŚ *imā uddhāsucārīna*) *ime durbhūtām* (MŚ °*dam*) *akran* TB ApŚ MŚ Cf prec

agotām anapatyatām (vulgate with most mss *anapadyatām*) AV 4 17 6b. Some mss and the comm read *anapatyatām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām*. Cf RV 3 54 18 *yuyota no anapatyāni paśumān astu gātuh*

yadā rākhātyau vadatah ApŚ *yadā rāghatī varadah* Vait *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantah* MŚ. See §§70, 272a. Vait is thoroly Prakritic

§60 In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*. *vayam hi vām purutamāso* (AV °*dam*°) *asvinā* AV AŚ ŚŚ. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *kāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *asvinā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV 7 73 1 (*purudansā purutamā*)? Roth, ZDMG 48 107, and Whitney on AV 7 73 1, consider the AV form, 'having many houses', corrupt

mā me hārdi tvṣā (MŚ *hārdim dvṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ. A replica of RV 8 79 8c *mā no hārdi* etc, *dvṣā* is lect fac

sato vah pitaro deśma VS *sado* etc ApŚ SMB GG. In VS 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you'. The others with lect fac, 'a seat, O Fathers' etc, this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *grha* in the preceding pāda *grhān nah pitaro datā*. Cf the next *mukham sad asya śira it satena* (TB *sadena*) VS MS KS TB. The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MS p p and VS comm), TB comm apparently reads *saṁ asya*. VS comm takes *satena* from a stem

sata, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, 'chāndasah' TB *sadena*, taken by its comm to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asya* Cf *prec*

śivā rutasya (VSK *śiva rtasya*, TS and v 1 of MS *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °jā) VS VSK TS MS KS See §084

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV *upa vadāvate*) RV SV VS In SV a form of *upa-vad*, in the others, of *upa-av* SV is uninterpretable, its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāvah*

śvasāra āpo abhi gā ulāsaran (SV *ulāsaran*) RV SV In SV a form of *ul-ā-sr* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *ula+asaran*

ya ātrnatty (ViDh *ātrnoty*, SamhitopB *ātrnoty*) *avātathena* (VāDh *avātathena*) *karnau* SamhitopB VāDh ViDh N *avātathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt

yathāpah pravatā yanti TA TU Kauś *yathā yanti prapadah* SMB The latter is secondary, Jorgensen, 'wie die Wege gehen' In his note he suggests *pratiṣpadah*, which is not enticing in view of the variant

agne tām vettha yadī te jātavedah HG ApMB *tvam vettha yati te jātavedah* RV VS *yadī*, 'if', is lect fac

ā vatso jagatā (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadarh*) *saha* AV AG PG ApMB HG MG *jagadarh* (comm 'guards', *anugar rakṣakarh*) is certainly poor and secondary The comm however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows

īśānam jagadarh saha PG *īśāno jagatas patih* AV TS KS ApMB The context is different, the two pādas are hardly variants of each other PG comm *jagadarh*, *anucararh* Cf *prec*

hutvā na ūrjam pra patāt patiṣṭhah (AV *prapadāt patiṣṭhah*) RV AV MG In RV, 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying' AV, doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV version)

vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (MŚ mss °dā, onc, *dhṛṣadā*) *rujantah* RV TS JB ŚB MŚ The corruption of MŚ mss is due to thought of *dhṛṣad*, 'mill-stone' RV 8 49 (Vāl 1) 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV TB ApMB *avartī* 'distress' seems likely to be original

ā sūtrāṇe (MS KS *bhūyāṣṭhadāṇe*) *sumatīm āvṛnāḥ* AV MS KS
oṣṣṭhadāṇe sumatīm grṇānāḥ TS See §355

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older, they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older

§61 In the next group we find different division of the words, but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf §65)

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS *madhumad ābharan*) VS MS TB

Either reading is interpretable, in VS TB *madhu*^o goes with *pathā*, in MS with the object of *ābharan*. We judge that the former is probably original, cf RV 10 24 6 *madhuman me parāyanam madhumat punar āyanam*

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*) AG ApMB
 MG *yena bhūrīś carā divam* PG The original form is that of ApMB MG, of which AG is a corruption PG changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p 235), this is connected with the further change that introduces *divam*

tvam *no devotātaye* (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV—Ppp reads *devatātaye*, indicating that AV (Ś) is secondary It makes, however, a sort of crude sense 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving'

arepasah sacetasah cīte goh (*cīlā goh, cīdākoh*), see §47 Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-k*)

jivann eva prātī tat te (so Jorgensen for SMB, v 1 *pratīdatte*) *dadhāmi* (SMB *dadāmi*) TA SMB † *jivann eva pratīdatte dadāmi* MŚ
 The latter is corrupt

§62 The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables *ahā neta* (GB *netar a-*, ŚŚ *ahād eta*) *sann avicetanāni* AV AB GB ŚŚ *ahā ned asann apurogavāni* (so divide) JB—This is followed by *yajñā* (JB Caland, *yajñā*) *netā sann apurogavāsah* (JB Caland, *avice-tanāsah*) AV AB GB JB *yajñād eta sann apurogavāsah* ŚŚ Gaastra reads GB as *yajñā netar asann apuro*^o, and so in the prec, read in GB *netar asann* Weber, *Ind St* 9 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV etc The true form of the two pādas is *ahā ned asann av*^o, *yajñā ned asann apuro*^o, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader' So

Caland, *ZDMG* 72 24f, who quotes JB as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives AV and ŚŚ are hopeless, but GB (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense

§63. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older

pari doṣād udarpihah KŚ *pariṣāt tad arpiha* ApŚ Preceded in KŚ by *yo me 'dya payaso rasah*, in ApŚ by *yan me 'tra payasah* It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari*, sc my] fault') from KŚ, and reads *udarpihah* We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ to accord with it, *pariṣāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect fac, is clearly what ApŚ intended

godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardah (TB *atardat*) RV AV MS TB The antique and rare *adardah* (3d sing imperf intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*

pryo me hṛdo (MŚ *huto*, v l *huto*) 'si (MŚ † *bhava*) TS MŚ The latter is simply a lect fac

sapta rājāno ya udābhīṣiktāh KS AA *anu sapta rājāno ya udābhīṣiktāh* TB The TB stumbles over *udā*, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb *uta*

yās ca (AV *yā*) *devīr* (SMB *devyo*, PG *devīs*) *antān* (AV *antān*, PG *tantūn*) *abhito* 'dadanta (PG SMB *tatantha*) AV PG SMB ApMB *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito* 'tatananta (so em, mss *tatantha*) MG The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrously augmented form *atatantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi) Roth, *ZDMG* 48 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for 'dadanta In PG, however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha* The comm on PG (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license Cf VV I p 139f

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāhī (TS *uditaro vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS *yasmin adhi vitatah sūra eti* MS KS Of course RV is original, but *vitatah* is found also in the AV version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā*

vidad yadī (MS † *yadī*, TB ApŚ *yatī*) *saramā rugnam* (MS † *saramā-runam*) *adreh* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ The original *yadī* (*yadī*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem plpc *yatī* (TB comm

gachantī) suggested by the final *ī* of *yadī*, and supported by RV 5 45 7 *yatī saramā* *Saramā*, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler, cf RV 10 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *gāt* at the end of 3 31 6, the stanza here concerned Caland in his Translation of ApŚ unwisely abandons *yatī* for *yadī*

yad vo devā atipādāyānī (AŚ °*tayānī*) TB AŚ ApŚ *atī-pad* and *atī-pat* are synonyms, 'transgress' TB comm *akaranam anyathā-karanam cātipāthīh* There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other)

ūrdhvā yasyāmataḥ bhā (so divide) *adidyutāt* (VSK *atī dyutāt*) *sarīmanī* AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ N The VSK reading, if authentic, is secondary See VV I p 128

śvelāya vaidārvāya (PG °*darmyāya*, ApMB HG °*darvāya*, MG *vaita-havyāya*) AG ŚG PG ApMB HG MG The epithet *vaita-havya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding

§64 In the following cases the *t* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school

duras ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV *turas* cid *visvam arnavat tapasvān* AV † Whitney translates AV 'inay he, quick, rich in fervor, send all' Since Ppp agrees with RV, it is clear that AVŚ is secondary But *turas* is lexically defensible

tvam rājāsi pradībhah (VS VSK *pratīpat*) *sutānām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS N *pratīpat* is hardly intelligible, Mahīdhara takes *pratīpat* *sutānām* as a compound, ignoring the accents 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight'

harinasya raghuṣyadah (ApŚ °*syatah*, two mss °*syadah*) AV ApŚ Caland adopts the AV reading, if ApŚ really intended °*tah*, it simulates a pres pple form from a denominative **raghuṣya-agne* (Poona ed *agre*, but comm *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v 1 °*yan*, not in Poona ed) TB *agre vikṣu pradīdayat* RV Comm on TB, groggily *pratīdayat*, *pratyekam eva prāptam āsit* (as if *prati*, *id*, *ayat*!)

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61)

satyā tā dharmān paṭi ApŚ *satyād ā dharmān* (ŚŚ and mss of MŚ

^onā) *paṭi* (Vait MS *pari*, ŚŚ omits) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MS Caland in his Transl of Vait understands *satyādā* as one word (nom dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApŚ, which is surely wrong in principle. The secondary, ApŚ is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ Followed by *gandharvāḥ kām̐yam vacah* ŚŚ has a lect fac which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitiousness (*tat*, twice)

balam icchanto vītudasya (AG *m tu tasya*, v 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU AG *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA MahānU AG The AG attempts to rationalize the obscure *vītudasya* (said by TAA comm to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a $\tilde{a}\pi\lambda e\gamma$ which it does not understand

§66 The remarkable case of *tevi* for *devī* deserves special emphasis, it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf §21

dīśām devy (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS MS AŚ

In the pāda *māṭṛk kva cana vidyate*, TA 1 5 1d, the comm (does not read *māṭṛk*, as Conc states, but) interprets *māṭṛk* by *māḍṛk*, which seems the only possibility

§67 A few other special cases with problems of their own

pitvo (VS MS *pidvo*, KSA *bidvo*) *nyañkuḥ lakkatas* (MS *kakuthas*, TS KSA *kasas*) *te 'numatyasi* (KSA ^oyāḥ) VS TS MS KSA None of the forms *pitvo* etc occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant, remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*

mayamdam (MS MŚ *mayantam*) *chandah* VS TS KS MS ŚB MŚ An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahādhara, *sukham dadāḥ*, Keith, 'delight-giving'. This is probably right *mayamda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m*. See Bloomfield, JAOS 21 50ff, Wackernagel 2 1, pp 204ff

pariśīdah kveṣyasi ApMB *pariśīdah kleṣyasi* HG *parimūdhah kva gamiṣyasi* PG The true reading is that of PG, with *dh* and neither *t* nor *d*. See Stenzler's translation ('umpisst'). Comm on ApMB gets fairly close in general sense *chāndasam dirghatvam, pariśīdah paribaddhah*

[*suśadām id gavām asti pra khuda* AV *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasī* ŚŚ The AV mss read exactly as ŚŚ, except that they read *gavam* and *pra śudasī*. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation.]

§68 In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange. In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devī* (AV KS *devi*) *prathamānā prīthag yat*
(AV **nā purastāt*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ

adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhāh RV AV SV AA MŚ *ata ū su*
madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS

iti cid dhi (AV **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantam* RV AV (both)

grhā nah santu sarvadā (P G *sarvatah*) ApŚ PG HG

dhātār āyantu sarvadā (TA TU *sarvatah svāhā*) TA TU Kauś *sama-*
vayantu sarvatah SMB

tato na (KU *na tato*, ŚB BṛhU *na tadā*) *vicikitsati* (VSK IśāU KU
vijugupsate) VS VSK ŚB BṛhU IśāU KU See §45 *tato* is
certainly older

pari krośatu sarvatah (HG *sarvadā*) HG ApMB

p and *b*

§69 Here occur only a few stray variants

phalgūr (KSA **gur*) *lohitornā balakṣī* (VS *pal°*, KSA *balakṣī*s, em by
ed to **kṣī*) *tāh śsārasvatyah* VS TS KSA MS *balakṣa*, of unknown
etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here The
change to *pal°*, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamina-
tion with *palita*, VS comm simply says that *pal°* means *bal°*
avāturalam bṛṣayasya (TB *prathayasya*) *seṣah* RV, TB Bṛsaya, name of a
demon TB comm takes its form also as the name of a demon,
it is clearly a corruption of the RV form

khajāpo 'jopakāśīnīh ApMB *bayābojopakāsīnī* HG The readings
are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible
pitvo (*pidvo*, *bidvo*) , see §67

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable
of *bh* (in *bibharti* etc) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in
piparti etc), they are gathered in §112

kh and *gh*

§70 Here again are only a few stray variants

mā nah kaś cit prakhān (ApŚ *praghān*) *mā prameṣmah* KS ApŚ 'May
no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured' Probably
KS is original, *pra-khān* BR (Nachtrage to V), 'durch Graben zu
Fall bringen' *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han*, the problem-
atic in form, it appears to ease the meaning Prakritic influence is
likely

saghāsi jagatīchandāh TS *sakhāsi* (ŚŚ adds *patvā*) *jagacchandāh* ŚŚ
MŚ Cf *sakhāsi gāyaltram chandah* MŚ (Bloomfield, JAOS 16

3ff) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated lect fac, it is clear that *saghā* (stem *saghan*, comm 'vulture') is original, preceded in TS ŚŚ by *śyeno* 'sī gāyatrachandāh, and *suparno* 'sī triṣṭupchandāh (ŚŚ inserting *patvā* both times)
yadā rāghaṣi varadāh (ApŚ *rākhātyau vadulāh*) Vait ApŚ *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantah* MŚ The form *rā*² appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible BaudhŚ 16 23 reads *rākhāndyau* (?), and one ms of ApŚ *rākhāndau*

th and dh

§71 Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty. It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence.

§72 In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV, with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV *dh*. Yet the AV, relatively late and popular, surprisingly favors *adha* (*adhā*). The RV in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms. The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*.

§73 We begin with cases in which RV shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*), included is also one case of RV *viśvadhā*, SV *viśvathā* *vi dhānum viśvadhālanat* (SV *viśvathā*) RV SV *adhā jivri* (AV *atha jivri*, mss *jivri*, ApMB *athā jivri*) *vadatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB *adhā* (SV *athā*) *no viśvacarṣane* RV SV *adhā* (SV *athā*) *te sakhye andhaso vi no made* RV SV *adhā* (SV *athā*) *te sumnam imāhe* RV AV SV TS *adhā* (TS MS *athā*) *te syāma varuna priyāsah* RV TS MS KS *adhā* (TS MS *athā*) *kalakratvo yūyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *rudrasya maryā adhā* (SV *athā*) *svāsvāh* RV SV

§74 Next, cases in which RV (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*). The latter occurs most frequently in AV (of course

secondary, cf the similar preference of AV for the archaic *kṛno-* as against *karo-*, VV I p 116ff), once in SV (*ūrdhvadhā* for RV ° *thā*), once or twice in other texts

pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dadhuvad ūrdhvatā bhūt* (SV ° *dhā bhuvat*)

RV (10) SV

adhā (AV *adhā*) *nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS ° *tana*) RV (10) AV VS MS KS N *athāśmabhyam śam* etc TS

adhā (AV *adhā*) *pitṛn suvidatrān upehi* (AV TA *apīhi*, TS † *apīta*) RV (10) AV TS TA Add to VV I §370

adhā (AV *adhā*) *mano īvasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV *kṛṇuṣva*) RV (1) AV Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV is secondary as shown by the meter

adhā (AV *adhā*, MS KS *tolo*) *no vardhayā rayim* (RV JB *girah*) RV (3) VS TS AV MS KS JB ŚB TB JābU

adhā (AV *adhā*, comm *adha*, but Ppp *adhah*, Barret, JAOS 40 161) *sapatnī yā mama* RV (10) AV ApMB *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV

atho (AV *adhā*) *vayam bhagavantah syāma* RV (1) AV KŚ ApŚ N *adhā* (AV *adhā*, comm *atha*) *vayam āditya vrata tava* RV (1) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N *athāditya vrata vayam tava* ArŚ SMB

adhā (KS *adhā*) *somasya prayatī yuvabhyām* (KS *yuvā*°, v I *yuvā*°) RV (1) TS KS N

adhā (MS *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pāthah* RV (2) TS MS

§76 Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV again prefers the *dh* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th*

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV KS ApŚ *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS

adhā jīvema saradām śatāni AV *atho jīva saradah satam* VSK And others, see Conc under *asau jīva*

adhā (HG *atha*) *māsi punar ā yāta no grhān* AV HG

adhā (MS MŚ *athā*) *poṣasya poṣena* VS MS KS MŚ

adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate grhe VS *atha viśve arapā edhate grhah* TS

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS † *nān*, TS, twice † *nān*, once ° *nān*) *indro me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān indrāgnī me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

adhā jīvah (KS *adhā viṣtah*) *pītum addhi pramuktah* (so divide) TS MS KS *athaitam pītum addhi prasūtah* VS ŚB

adhāsyā madhyam edhatām KSA *athāsyā madhyam ejatu* VS LŚ *athāsyā*: (TS MS TB ° *syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait ° *tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejat*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ

indro marudbhur ṛtuthā (TS ApMB °dhā) *kṛnotu* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ ApMB

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB ApŚ ṛjudhā) *nayantu* VS TB ApŚ See §157

§76 Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior. But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, ZDMG 40 678ff, cf Wackernagel I p 123)

svāyām tanū (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) *rtvye* (RV † *rtvye*) *nādhāmānām* (ApMB *nātha*°, but many mss *nādha*°, MG *bādha*°) RV ApMB MG

§77 For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older.

avakro 'vithuro (ApŚ 'vindh°, Kauś adds 'ham) *bhūyāsam* AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś. That *avithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*, *avindhuro* is clearly secondary.

maṣām nu gād aparo artham (TB ApŚ ApMB *ardham*) *etam* RV AV VS ŚB TB ApŚ ApMB *mā no nu gād aparo ardhām etam* TA ApŚ 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part) *artha* and *ardha* are here synonyms, cf RV 1 164 17

abhūr (VS TS *abhur*, NīlarU *swo*) *asya niṣaṅgathāh* (VS °dhūh, NīlarU °tūh) VS TS MS KS NīlarU. Comm on VS 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote *niṣaṅgathāh* as meaning 'embracing' etc, the other forms are ἀπλεγ. Probably °dhū is influenced by thought of root *dhā* (popular etymology), while °tū is a mere corruption.

parīdam vāso adhihāh (HG *adhidhāh*, ApMB *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV HG ApMB. The original (AV) form is 2 sing aor mid of *dhā*, the personal ending -*dhāh* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhā* (*dhāh*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhī*. See VV I p 39

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pitṛnām* VS VSK MS *pāṅktrah* (KSA *pāṅktah*, but all mss of both TS and KSA *pāmtra-*) *kaśo mānthālavas* (KSA † *mā*°) *te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitṛ*°) TS KSA. We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else
Said to mean 'flying fox'

indrāvathuh (VSK °*dhuh*, KS * TB ApŚ °*lam*) *kāvyaṛ* (TB ApŚ
karmanā) *darśanābhah* RV AV VS VSK MS KS (both) ŚB
TB ApŚ The subject is the Aśvins, so that VSK is hardly
interpretable See VV I p 282

apa snehītir (SV *snihitam*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS †
nṛmanām adadhrām) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi tam nṛmanām*
(Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA See §110

§78. In the rest *dh* seems to be the original

apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ †
ma) *indra* AŚ ŚG *anāmayadhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś The origi-
nal (AŚ ŚG) 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra'
This SMB converts into the unbelievable 'be an off-warder of
disease, do not die for us, Indra' At least the comm takes it thus,
seeing in *mṛthā(h)* a 2d sing mid of *mṛ* (one ms reads *mṛdhā*),
riṣāma of Kauś confirms *mṛdh* as original The variation is some-
how connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*tam mā mṛdhah*),
which see in §98 On Kauś's reading see §344

madhavyau stokāu (MS °*kā*, AV *mathavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV
yān) *rarādha* AV TS MS Several mss and the comm on AV
read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends

adhorāma (HG *atho*°) *ulumbalah* (HG † *ulumbarah*) ApMB HG *adho*°
= *adhas* is obviously correct, HG mechanically recalls the many
phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q v in Conc

dirghām anu prasṛtam (KS *samṛtam*) *āyuge dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS
ŚB TB *dirghām anu prasṛtam samspṛsthām* MS An extensive
alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ge dhām*
°*sthām*)

ph and *bh*

§79 The instances are few and all concern questionable forms
phalāya, and, *phallāya* KhG *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā*
SMB GG The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening
twilight, their meanings are unknown The form with single *l*
and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhallā* is
Prakritic for *bhadra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form
bhallākṣa which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind St*
2 88)

kanātkābhām (AŚ *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB AŚ See §151

yā sarasvatī varṣambhalyā (ApŚ °*balyā*, v 1 °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*)
tasyām me rāsva TB ApŚ See §114

CHAPTER III ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

§80 The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance. In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings. Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended, but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition. Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *t* and *th*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame, and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group. It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent, yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th*—The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff

k and *kh*

§81 Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms *gohya* *ṛupagohyo marūko* (PG *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG SMB Cf *grhyo* etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss vary. The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. fac. The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings. *kaṣoṭhāya* (MahānU *khaholkāya*) *svāhā* TA TAA MahānU. The MahānU form recurs in the Purāṇas, it is interpreted as *kha-kha-ulka* (!), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is *ḍṛḷeṭ*, and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

g and *kh*

§82 Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form *sukha* is later both times. *sugam* (VS MS ŚB *sukham*) *meṣāya meṣyaḥ* (RV *meṣye*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB LŚ. *sugam* (VS MS *sukham*) *ca me śayanam ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS

g (k) and gh

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt, cf *yena mahānaghnīyā jaghanam* AV Kauś, where apparently all mss of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānagnīyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Cone and by Whitney

yajñasya ghoṣad asī TS TB ApŚ *goṣad asī* MS KS MŚ TS comm 'wealth', Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG
yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya MG See §801

tāsām īśāno bhagavah (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS The words are virtual synonyms

apūpakṛd aṣṭake ŚG *apūpaghṛtāhute* ApMB Addressed to an *aṣṭakā*, same context, one must be a phonetic corruption of the other 'O cake-making A', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'

c and ch

§84 Two variants, one an onomatopoetic word

cec-cec chunaka srja PG *chad apehi* ApMB Cf the English 'skat'

karnābhyām (PG *godānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB *cu*) *adhī* RV AV
ApMB PG A v 1 of AV with its comm *cubukād*, one ms of ApMB *cibukād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit

j and jh

§85 A single variant

apām naptre jaṣah (KSA *jhaṣah*) TS KSA *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV), but *jhaṣa* is regular in the later language The word is of non-Aryan origin

t and th

§86 These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣt* and *ṣth*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets In nearly every instance the *th* form is proper, or at least more usual Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation

kuṣṭhayā (MS *kuṣṭayā*) *te krīndm* MS ApŚ Regular is *kuṣṭhā*, designation of a measure, *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically

nadībhyah pauṇṛjṣṭham (TB *°tam*) VS TB Also

namah puṇṛjṣṭhebhya (TS *°tebhya*) *nṣādebhyaś ca vo namah* TS KS

namo nṣādebhyah puñṣṭhebhyaś (MS °*ṭebhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS MS The word *puñṣ*° or *pauñṣ*° 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °*ṭha*, but there is no little fluctuation Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies

vanīṣṭum (AB TB AŚ MŚ °*ṭhum*) *asya mā rāviṣṭa* MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ † 5 17 9, MŚ The regular form is *vanīṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation Knauer (on MŚ) would emend MS to °*ṭhum*

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive (VS °*ṣṭhīve*) *brhadraṭhamtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS † *kalpantām*) VS MS (Add to VV I §357) The proper form is *ūrv-aṣṭhiva* the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhī-vant*, 'knee'

śatāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona edd °*ṣṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari no vrnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣṭad* (p p *vā*, *aṣṭāt*) *dhaviṣā vārnah* (read [a-] *varnah*?) MS As a missile (*hetu*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barh' The MS is entirely corrupt The Poona ed of both TB and TA makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *ugrā*

anupūrvam yatamānā yatī ṣṭha (AV *ṣṭha*, TA *yatiṣṭa*) RV AV TA *yatiṣṭa* could only be an aorist, but as it retains a double accent (*yāti-ṣṭa*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yatamānā*) for *yāti ṣṭha*, 'as many as ye be'

rdhag ayā (TS MS KS *ayād*) *rdhag utāsamiṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*ṣṭa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB N *dhruvam aya* (AV *ayo*) *dhruvam utāsamiṣṭhāh* (AV *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV AV Here both forms are correct, there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p 241) On the corrupt reading of AV see §234 Cf next

āṣṭa (MS *āṣṭhaḥ*, KS ms † *āṣṭāh*, em v Schr *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām* TS MS KS PG See VV I p 238, and cf prec

vīty arṣa caruṣṭhayā (SV *paniṣṭaye*) RV SV If the SV reading is tenable at all (*paniṣṭaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *ti*, whereas RV (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*

[*nṛ aṣṭhaviṣam aṣṣṭam* GB Vait ApŚ Quoted in Conc with *aṣṭaviṣam* from GB and Vait But the Vait reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p 119, and Gastra reads *aṣṭhaviṣam* in GB without report of variant Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭaviṣam* never existed The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhiv* 'spit' (cf *ṣṭhuvā*, ApŚ)]

§87 In the preceding *ṣṭh* is the proper or at least the usual spelling We now come to the cases where *ṣṭ* seems proper Both are dubious,

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *th* only in the p p of MS

ṣaṣṭim (ŚŚ *ṣaṣṭim*) *sahasrā navatim ca kaurama* AV AŚ ŚŚ The combination *ṣaṣṭim sahasrā* is very common, see e.g. Conc. thereunder ŚŚ, if its reading has any real standing, has confused *ṣaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *ṣaṣṭha*

mā no agnim (p p *agnih*) *nurṣtir mā na āṣṭān* (p p *āṣṭhām*) MS *mā no rudro nurṣtir mā no astā* TA See VV I p. 93 The forms are doubtful, read *āṣṭām*?

§88 The following is the sole variant between *t* and *th* not preceded by *ṣ*. Nothing is known about the word *kakutha* or *kakkaṭa* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal

pitvo (*pido*, *bido*) *kakḥatas* (*kakuthas*) , see §67

t and *th*

§89 These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning. Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing. No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases. We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged, there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf. VV I, especially §§14ff, 116). Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*, and VV I, especially §§20f, 292ff, 326ff, has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context. There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned.

§90 We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite). They have been listed in VV I p. 23f. In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older, in the last five, at least, the *th* form

āpura stā ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā* TS AŚ Add to VV I l c

taṁ sma jānīta (VSK *tha*) *parama vyoman* AV VS VSK TS^{*} KS ŚB

MŚ *jānīta smānam* (TS MŚ *jānīād enam*) *pa^a vy^a* AV TS

MŚ *etaṁ jānītha* (TB *jānīāt*, KS *jānīla*) *pa^a vy^a* VS KS TB

ŚB Note especially that VSK *jānītha* is apparently a blend of *jānīta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānītha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*

śvā no bhavata (ApŚ °*tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ

śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA °*tha*, MG °*ntu*) *yajñyāsah* RV TA MG

aśvā bhavata (AV TS KS °*tha*) *vājnah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
devā bhavata vā° RV

tena krīdanīś (ŚG *krīl*°) *carata* (ŚG °*tha*) *priyena* (AV *vaśān anu*) AV
TS ŚG PG V1Dh *vaśān anu* in AV is due to infection from RV
1 82 3, 10 142 7

devebhyo bhavata (TB °*tha*) *suprāyanāḥ* RV AV VS MS KS TB N
datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB *dattāśma*°)
dravneha bhadram AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravnam*
yac ca bhadram MS

ye 'tra pitarah bhūyāstha AV ŚŚ *ya etasmin loke bhūyāsta* TS

TB A primary ending on a precativ form is absurd, yet all mss of AV and ŚŚ seem to agree on °*tha*, see Whitney on AV 18 4 86
arālāg udabhartasata (AV mss °*tha*) AV ŚŚ The AV reading, augmented but with °*tha*, is a monstrosity Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhir yathā*, has no standing

aulaba (HG °*va*) *it tam upā hwayatha* (HG °*ta*) ApMB HG Several mss of ApMB read °*ta*, in such trash as this it makes little difference what is read

saputrakāyām jāgratha PG *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ See note in Stenzler's translation of PG 1 16 22

indrena yujā (TB *sayujā*) *pra mṛāta* (TB °*tha* [Bibl Ind *pranītha*])
śatrūn AV TB Add to VV I §16

payasvatīḥ kṛnuthāpa (TS °*ūpa*) *oṣadhīḥ śvāḥ* (TS omits *śvāḥ*) AV
TS Followed by

ūrjam ca tatra sumatim ca pīnvata (TS °*tha*) AV TS (Add to VV I §18)

The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in both, yet both are inconsistent Little weight is to be attached to the Ppp readings, quoted by Roth as having *t* thruout the stanza, even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutah sīnūathā madhu*), where the relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative, see VV I pp 78f) Contrariwise, the AV comm reads *pīnvatha* for °*ta*, which seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*
yad āmayati nīṣ kṛtha (TS MS KS *kṛta*) RV VS TS MS KS *kṛtha*, tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists like *kṛdhi*, is the older reading, *kṛta* lect fac

yūyam (MS *divo*) *vr̥ṣṭim var̥ṣayathā* (MS °*lā*) *purīṣinah* RV TS MS
 KS —MS, which borrows *divo vr̥ṣṭim* from e g RV 2 27 15b, is
 secondary also as regards °*lā*
ud irayathā (MS MŚ °*lā*, AV KS °*la*) *marutah samudratah* RV AV
 TS MS KS AS MŚ

§91 About equally often second and third duals containing *th* and *t* interchange (listed VV I pp 24f) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89) We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older, in the majority there is little to choose between them

citrebhū abhiraṇ upa tiṣṭhatho (MS °*to*) *raṇam* RV † MS Followed by
dyām var̥ṣayatho (MS °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV MS See VV I p 241
yāv (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhr̥to* (KS † °*tho*, AV *visatho*) *yau ca rakṣatah* (AV KS † °*thah*) AV TS MS KS Followed by
yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhvā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °*tuh*), same texts See VV I p 228 The unanimity of AV and KS, partly supported by MS, perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original, we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS 4 7 15 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'

tat satyam yad vīram bibhr̥tath (MŚ † °*tah*), and, in same passage,
vīram janayisyathah (MŚ °*tah*),
te mat prātah prajanayisyethe (MŚ °*te*),
te mā prajāte prajanayisyathah (MŚ °*tah*) TB ApŚ MŚ See VV I p 236

ghṛtena (Kauś *vapayā*) *dyāvōpṛthivī prornuvāthām* (VS TS ApŚ *prornuvāthām*, MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś ApŚ MŚ also see Conc under *svarge* (°*gena*, *suwarge*) *loke* (-*na*) *prornuvāthām* etc (only MS °*tām*, VS VSK TS KSA [†*samprornuvāthām*]) ŚB TB Vait °*thām*)

yā rājānam (MS KS °*nā*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yātu*) *ugrā* TS MS KS *juṣetām* (and, °*thām*) *yajñam ṛṣṭaye* RV (both) Add to VV I §21

kāmam duhātām iha śakvaribhih AV *rāṣṭram duhātām iha revatibhih* TB See VV I pp 25, 224

purā gr̥dhrād araruṣah pibātah (TS °*thah*) RV MS TB Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original *sam* (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *kathah*) RV ApMB See VV I p 24

halo (SV TB *hatho*) *vr̥trāny āryā* (AV TB *apratī*) RV SV AV TB followed by

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsām satpatā* RV SV, and,

hato (SV *hatho*) *viśvā apa dṛṣah* RV SV See VV I pp 222, 232

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS °*thām*) MS KS † TB ApŚ And, in the same stanza

divi (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *ultamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS † °*thām*), same texts *abhūtām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have a 3d person in the 1st pāda of the verse See VV I p 235

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other verbal endings containing *t* and *th*, or, in the last case, a verbal ending with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t*

abhīramyatām (MŚ °*thām*!) MŚ ŚG YDh BrhPDh The MŚ form, if correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly anomalous, see VV I §22

yās ca (*yā*) *devīr* (*devyo*, *devīs*) *antān* (*antān*, *tantūn*) *abhūto* 'dadanta' (*tatantha*), etc, see §63

ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryas ca* VS ŚB *aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °*nāu*) *uditā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS The old loc sing in °*tā* is shifted in VS ŚB to a second person dual verb, *udithah*

§93 In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscurities

asunītāya (TA °*thāya*) *vodhave* AV TA The AV comm reads °*thāya*, which is clearly original, °*tāya* is infected by *asunīti*, cf Whitney on AV 18 2 56

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, KS * °*dhītam*, 38 12b† °*nītha*, MS °*dhīte*) *yajñāh* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB All forms are rare and dubious KapŚ (v Sehr on KS 8 14b) has *vasudhītam* or °*tim* (so also v 1 of KS)

nirṛtho (MS °*to*) *yas ca nīsvanah* (AV *nīsvarah*) AV MS TA *nirṛto* in MS is a secondary blend of *nirṛtha* (old) and *nirṛti* (common)

svasti nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākṛteṣu*, but v 1 as RV) *yonīṣu* RV AB MG Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG, if the reading is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyāsu* in the preceding

ābhur (MS KS *ābhūr*, NilarU *śivo*) *asya nīṣaṅgathih* (VS °*dhih*, NilarU °*th*) VS TS MS KS NilarU The last has a corruption, see §77

paktā (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA Comm on TS, *pākāṣilam* KSA corrupt, see Keith on TS 7 5 20 1

stūto 'sī *janadhāh* TB ApŚ (LŚ *pratīka*, *stutah*) *tuttho* 'sī *janadhāyāh*

(PB °yah) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ Is *stuto* lect fac for *tutho* of unknown meaning?

samaddho agnir vṛṣanāratar (AV °nā rathī, ŚŚ °nā rayir) *divah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ From RV 3 3 6, 4 15 2, 8 75 1 it is probable that *rathī* is the true reading

garbhaś ca sthātām garbhaś carathām RV Conc would read *cāratām* (gen pl of *cārant*), but *carādhām* (gen pl of *carātha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*)

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work

atho (MU *ato*) *annanawa jīwantī* TA TU MU

tato (AV ArS *tathā*) *viṣvañ vyakrāmat* (AV *tathā vyakrāmad viṣvañ*) RV AV ArS VS TA

atho rājann (AV *ula rājñām*) *uttamam mānavānām* AV TB

atho pitā (MS *ulāyam pitā*) *mahatām gargarānām* AV TS MS KS

§95 As regards lexical interchange of *t* and *th*, RV 8 13 27 *harī indra pratadvasū abhi svara* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathadvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, *prāpta-vasu*, Sāyana, *visṭirna-dhana*), or *pratata-vasu* But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathad-vasu* The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', so the two bay steeds, as subject Cf the doubtful *kṛtā-d-vasū* (*kṛta-tad-vasū* with haplology?) in RV 8 31 9, see however Wackernagel, 2 1 pp 64, 319, Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions

tābhyām (MS KS add *vayam*) *palema sukrām u lokam* (Kauś *pathy-āśma sukrāsyā lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Dhātup has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path*, *panthan* Possibly Kauś intends *pathyā(h) sma* In VV I p 110 we have treated its form as a precativum It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*

katvā na ūṛjam pra patāt patiṣṭhah (AV *padāt pathiṣṭhah*) RV AV MG See §60

samsrāvabhāgā (VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava*°, MS °bhāgāh, KS Kauś °bhāgās) *stheṣā* (Kauś *taviṣā*) *brhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś *taviṣā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *brhantah*

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rīhānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG

vyantu) *vayah* TS MS KS (bis) TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo* 'klam *rihānāh* VS ŚB KŚ *aktam rihānāh*, 'licking the fat', is certainly original, the KS *artham* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS 31 11 suggests emending *artham* to *aktam*. On MS see §152

atho mātātho pitā TA *hatā mātā hatah pitā* SMB *halo hatahmātā krimah* AV See §386

atho ye kṣullakā va AV *hatah kriminām kṣudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāh* TA See ibid

sarve rādhyāh stha (ŚŚ °yās tu) *putrāh* AB ŚŚ

grho hiraṇyayo matah (AŚ gr° m° hi°) AV KS AŚ Here all AV mss and comm read *mīthah*, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption, RWh read *mutah* with Ppp and KS AŚ

parītoṣāt tad arpiṭha ApŚ *pari doṣād ud arpīthah* KŚ Read in both *udarpīthah*, see §63

upa yajñam asthata (AV comm *astṛta*, MŚ *astu na*) *varīṣadevī* RVKh AV ApŚ MŚ

t and *dh*

§97 Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *vr̥dh* and *vr̥t*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous, but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the *vr̥t* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true

bhīma ā vāṛdhe (SV *vāṛte*) *śavah* RV SV

madanti devīr amṛtā ṛtāvṛdhah (Vait °*vr̥tah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ Caland on Vait 13 20 assumes that °*vr̥tah* (all mss) is an error

abhī rāṣṭrāya vartaya (AV *vardhaya*) RV AV The AV is certainly poor, and Ppp has *vartaya*, see Whitney on 1 29 1 Cf next two

yenendro abhivāṛte (AV °*vr̥dhe*) RV AV In same verse as prec, same conditions Cf also next

abhī somo avīṛtat (AV °*vr̥dhat*) RV AV In next verse to the prec two, same conditions

mvarto yo ny avīṛdhah (ApMB °*vr̥tat*) HG ApMB Oldenberg adopts °*vr̥tat* for HG

pumānsam vardhatām (†text is right, despite Conc) *mayi* ŚG *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me', 'let a male be in me' or the like ŚG has a 3 dual active verb See §840

Note further the exchange between the old (RV) adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh*

and *dhṛtavrata* (not concerning root *vṛt*) in *āvṛte* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* *ṛtāvṛdhau* (*dhṛtavrate*), and others, see §§466, 665

§98 The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt

samvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG Synonyms

sa mā mṛta (MG *vṛtat*) AG ApMB MG cf *tam mā mṛdhah* ŚG 'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him', and §78, *apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra*, etc The MG has a mere corruption, see §225 *ābhur* (*ābhūr*, *śvo*) *aśya niṣaṅgadhih* (**thih*, **tīh*), see §77

vi te (PG *tau te*, HG *vidhe*) *krodham nayāmasi* PG HG ApMB Kirste suggests emending HG to *vi te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation, *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vi-dhā*, but is really hopeless

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA Comm on AV, followed by SPP in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap Whitney, p xcii

śriyāi (MG *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG *veddhavai*) ApMB MG For the MG Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Conc *vettavai* *sinanti pākam ahi* (ŚŚ *†adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *adhi* is very inferior in sense

d and dh

§99 This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text, cf e.g., Whitney on AV 11.1.23 (*ansadhri* **drī*), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā* These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing

Roots *dā* and *dhā*

§100 They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following *āyurdā asī* ŚŚ *āyurdhā asī* TS JB AŚ

āyurdā (MS KS °dhā) *agne'si* VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ PG

cakṣurdā (KS °dhā) *asi* VS KS ŚB

varcodā asi VS ŚB ŚŚ *varcodhā asi* AV TS MS KS JB TB

ApŚ MŚ

varcodā (MS °dhā) *agne'si* VS TS MS ŚB ŚŚ PG —All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*cakṣur*, *varco*) *me* (*maye*) *dehi* (*dhehi*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent

§101 There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal *dā* does not govern the locative of the person but only the dative The root *dha*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative We have noted among the variants only two cases of *da* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected

†*okhām dadhātu* (MS *dadātu*) *hastayoh* VS TS MS KS ŚB This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhyam*) in the preceding pāda is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoh* being really epexegetic, but also and chiefly because the MS reading is nonsense, since the preverb *ā* is joined with *dō*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here Cf *mā no andhe*, §105

mayi puṣṭim †*puṣṭipati* (AV *puṣṭam puṣṭa°*) *dadhātu* (AG †*dadatu*) AV MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG is evidently an error

[*mayi rucam dhah* (KS †*dhehi*) MS KS Conc *dehi* for KS]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dah*, MS, recurring as *payo mayi dhehi* ApŚ, and in the same text (TS) all three possibilities in a formula like *āyur me dehi* TS 1 5 5 3, *āyur me dhehi* 1 6 6 1, and *āyur mayi dhehi* 7 5 19 2 (but, N B, no **āyur mayi dehi*)

§103 In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another, not infrequently they may very well have originated independently

rayim me dāh (AV *dhehi*) AV MS

ojo dehi KS *ojo dhatta* TS KŚ *ojo mayi dhehi* VS TB *ojo me dah* (svāho) AV VS ŚB

balam dehi KS *balam dhatta* TS MŚ *balam mayi dhehi* (AV *me dah svāhā*) AV VS TB

saho mayi dhehi (AV *me dāh svāhā*) AV VS TB

prānam dhehi (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ See Conc in the vicinity of these

vācam dhehi (MS *me dāh*) MS TA

annam me dehi (PB * *dhehi*) PB (both) LŚ Kauś, cf note on Kauś 136 4

āyur dhehi (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ MŚ *āyur me dāh* (svāhā) AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ *āyur mayi dhehi* VS TS ŚB *āyur me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *āyur me dhehi* VSK TS KS KSA MS TB ApŚ *āyur me dhattam* TB ApŚ

śrotam dehi (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *śrotam mayi* (KSA †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS KSA *śrotam me dāh* AV MŚ

cakṣur dehi (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *cakṣur me dhehi* (KS KSA *dehi*) VS KS KSA ŚB *cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS *cakṣur me dāh* (svāhā) AV MS

tejo mayi (AŚ *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ *dehi*) AV VS TS KS ŚB TB AŚ LŚ ŚG ApMB *tejo me dhāh* (AŚ *dāh svāhā*) TA AŚ

varco mayi dhehi VS TS PB ŚB ApŚ *varco me dāh* (TA *dhāh*) MS MŚ TA *varco me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *varco me dhehi* VSK MS KS JB ApŚ *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *vīram dhatta* (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ **no datta*) *pitaraḥ* AŚ ApŚ MŚ *vīrān nah pitaro dhatta* ViDh *vīrān me pitaro* (tatāmahā, pratātāmahā) *datta* Kauś

ūrjam mayi dhehi VS VSK MS KS PB ŚB LŚ ApŚ MŚ *ūrjam me dhehi* (PB LŚ *dehi*) VSK TS KS PB GB TB Vait LŚ KŚ *hr̥dispr̥k kratuṣpr̥g varcodāh* (MS **dhā asī*) MS AŚ

§104 Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority

akṣvbhyām pradhāpaya (TA **dāpaya*) MS TA

apām oṣadhīnām garbham dhāh (MŚ *garbham me dāh*) TS MŚ

adhi dātre vocah VS TS ŚB *adhi dhātre vocah* MS KS

cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāh TS *varcodhā varivodhāh* MS *varcodā varivodāh* (TA *varvodā dravinodāh*) VS TS KS ŚB TA

bhūs (also, *bhūvas*, and *svas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* (MG *te dadāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG HG MG *bhūr bhuvah svah sarvam tvayi dadhāmi* (MG *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG MG

anādhr̥ṣṭāh sīdata sahaṁjaso (TS MS KS *sīdatorjasvatīr*) *mahi kṣatram* (varcah) *kṣatryāya dadhatih* (KS *dadatih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

vyam vah sā satyā samdhābhūd (MS *samvāg abhūd*) *yām indrena samadhāhvam* (MS **dadhvam*) TS MS *eṣā vas sā satyā samvāg abhūd*

yām indrena samadadhvam KS *yām indrena samdhām samadhattāh* (comm and some mss *samadhattāh*) AV Where the noun *samdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*, note that in MS KS it is replaced by *samvāg*, but even so, *samadadhvam* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p 128)

astīto nāmāham ātmānam na dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhyām goṣṭhāya (KS *dyāvapṛthivyor ātmānam pari dade*) AV KS

devīr āpo apām napād devebhyo devatra dhatta (VS ŚB *datta*, KS *dāta*) VS TS KS ŚB *tam devebhyah śukrapebhyo dāta* MS

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuh smane smānam dehy asmai MS *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ **pate*) *puṣṭis asmai punar dhehi* (AŚ *dhehi* or *dhehi svāhā*) AŚ ApŚ For *smane smānam* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21 324

agnir annādo 'nnapatir mayi dadhātu (TB *yajamānāya dadātu*)

ŚB TB KS Similarly nine other formulas with other gods [*udgātar devayajanam me dhi* ŚB ApŚ (Conc *dhehi* for ApŚ)]

§105 The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence, only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority, as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original

rayim devī dadhātu me AV *rāyo devī dadatu nah* RV

purumedhas (SV **dhās*) *cit takave naram dāt* (SV *dhāt*) RV SV

daḥṣam dadhāsi (KS *dadāsi*, v 1 *dadhāsi*) *jīvase* RV MS KS TB ApŚ *asmabhyam dattām* (AV *dhattam*, but comm *dattām*) *varuṇas ca manyuh*

RV AV —Ppp also *dattam*

vasudeyāya (KS **dheyaya*) *vidhate vibhātī* RV KS In RV *vasudeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasudheya*

tato no dhi jīvase RV TB TA *tasya no dhehi jivase* AV SV Kauś *tisro dadhur* (KS *dadur*) *devatāḥ samraranāḥ* VS † (so for Conc RV)

19 81b, MS KS TB The majority are probably original

somāya rajñe paridhātavā (HG **dā*) u AV HG ApMB As Kirste remarks, HG is secondary or corrupt, the first pāda of the verse has *paridhatta* in all texts

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt MŚ (properly emended by Knauer to *adhāt*, cf §101) *mā sv* (Poona ed *mo sv*) *asmāns tamasy antar-ādāh* TA *mo śvatvam asmāntarādāh* MS † (corrupt)

pratyādhāyāpara iva AV 10 1 27, read *pratyādhāyā*°, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations

dhātā dadhātu (TS ApŚ ApMB *dadātu*) *no raym* AV TS MS † KS

ApŚ ApMB Kauś See §106, first two variants

dhātā dadhātu (ApŚ *dadātu*) *sumanasyamānah* AV MS KS ApŚ

indrena ma indriyam dattam ojah AV *asmīn nara indriyam dhattam ojah* TS Comm on AV and Ppp *dhattam*

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG *āyus te* (AV *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV TS

TA ApŚ AŚ HG BDh Cf *raym no dehi* §106

rāyas poṣam cikituṣe (AV °ṣi, AŚ *yajamāne*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

iṣam ūrjam yajamānāya dhehi (Vait *dattvā*, AV *duhrām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait

lokam asinaḥ yajamānāya dehi (MU *dhehi*) TS KSA MU

tvaṣtā rūpāni dadhati (ŚB KŚ *dadati*) *sarasvatī* ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ *dadati* is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda

asme dhehi (SV *dhehi*) *jātavedo mahi śravah* RV SV VS TS MS KS *kṛtvī* (AV *kṛtvā*) *savarnām adadhur* (AV *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV AV N

The AV is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney)

dēvabhyo (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS °*dhā*) *asat* VS TS MS KS †

pra no (MS KS *mā*) *brūtād bhāgadhān* (ApŚ °*dhām*, MS °*dām*, KS *dhavirdā*) *devatāsu* (KS °*tābhyah*) TS MS KS ApŚ

§106 In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting

dhātā dadātu (AV *dadhātu*) *dāsuṣe* AV AŚ ŚŚ AG ŚG N See next

dhātā viśvā vāryā dadhātu AV *dhātā dadātu dāsuṣe vasūni* TS MS

ApMB In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword Does it indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original *dā* was attracted to it?

raym no dehi jīvase ŚŚ *raym no dhehi yajñyam* MS Cf *āyur no dehi jīvase*, §105

medhām agnur dadātu me (SMB *dadhātu le*) SMB ApMB, cf *medhām ta indro dadātu* HG, *medhām dhātā dadātu* (RVKh Scheftelowitz *dadhātu*) *me* RVKh VS

tasmai nā devāḥ paridattheha sarve AV *tasmai no devāḥ paridattheha* (KS MŚ °*dhatta*, PG °*dhattheha*) *sarve* (MŚ † *viśve*) TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh Comm on AV also °*datttheha*, called by Whitney a better reading, of this we are less sure

lasya no rāsva tasya no dheḥi (AŚ *dāh*) AV AŚ
jīvan eva prati tat te dadhāmī (SMB *dadāmi*) TA SMB † *jīvan eva*
pratīdatte dadāmi MŚ
udno (AV *ed ūdhno*, but mss *utna ete*, Whitney transl reads *udno*)
divyasya no dhātah (TS KS *dehi*) AV TS MS KS Comm on
 AV *dhāta*, explaining by *dheḥi* (I)
mahī varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadhatīh (KS *dadatīh*, TS *īanvānāh*) TS MS
 KS

§107 Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dhā*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss, certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form, in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh*. This (originally **dhabh*) produces both *dhīps* and *dīps*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (*dabh*), is the usual form *nindād yo asmān dīpsāc* (VS ŚB *dhīpsāc*) *ca* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *dhīpsyam vā samcakara janebhyah* MS *adītsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA. Here *dhīps* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf §§180, 45)

yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah RV *yam te svadhāvan svadanti gūrtayah* RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter, see RVRep on 8 5 7a and 8 49 5c

sā brahmagāyā vī duncti rāṣṭram AV *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmagasya* AV. Roots *du* and *dhū*

rajanī (AV *ed em rajjunī*) *granthar dānam* (AŚ *dhūnām*) AV AŚ Vait. The emendation *rajjunī* is very pat, the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhūnām*, like *rajanī*, is nonsense.

adhī kṣamī (SV *asmīn kṣaye*) *prataram dīdhyānah* (SV **rām dīdhyānah*) RV AV SV. See Whitney on AV 18 1 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjākāumudī* 20. SV has an obvious lect. fac. infected by ideas such as RV 5 64 5, *sudūtibhiḥ sve kṣaye vṛdhase*, or RV 5 23 4, *eṣu kṣayeṣu dīdhi*. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyānah*).

yad banhiṣṭham nātvīdhe (TB **vide*) *sudānū* RV MS KS TB AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense, TB comm *nātyantam labhyam*. But the compound *atī-vīd* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms of MS has **vide*.

indra darta (SV *dhartā*) *purām as* RV SV AV The foolish antonym of SV is disproved by RV 1 130 10, 3 45 2, 6 20 3

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ MG So also mss on AV 7 83 2, emended by RWh to *dāmno-dāmno* Whitney, Transl., keeps the emendation, tho even Ppp has *dh-* But Keith on TS, 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible At any rate there is no variant In the preceding verse also the AV mss have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh to *dāmāni*, the variant KS 3 8, AŚ 3 6 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu*]

§108 A little less close to each other are the roots *vid* and *vr̥dh*, which exchange several times, the 'Prakritic' exchange of *r* and *ṛ* also comes in here In the first two variants *vid* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear

mā no vidad (KS *vr̥dhad*) *vr̥janā* (KS TB ApŚ *vr̥janā*) *doṣyā* †*yā* AV KS TB ApŚ Cf Conc under *mā no vidad* (*vidan*)

hotrāvidah (RV °*vida*, TB °*vr̥dha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaḥ* RV AV MS TB

On *hotrāvid* cf RV 5 8 3, *hotrāvṛdh* is not recorded

indrartubhir brahmanā vāvr̥dhānah TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhubhir brahmanā samvidānah* ŚŚ

§109 Remoter lexical variants are the following

śyenasyeva dhrajato (MS KS *dravato*) *añkasam pari* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *dravataḥ* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraj-* with *śyena*, cf RV 1 165 2

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV VS TS MS *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB ApŚ MŚ *medhyāya*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ *śrutkarnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV KS ApŚ

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*, TS ApŚ *śundhantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ *sūd*° is evidently secondary Note that in AV 20 136 16d the word *śuddham* of the vulgate is based on mss readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index)

lam tvā bhrātarah suvr̥dho (HG *suhṛdo*, AV *suvr̥dhā*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG *suvr̥dhā vardh*°, 'growing with good growth', is original In HG there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to *bhrātarah* ('brothers, friends')

spardhante dhryah (TS KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *vśah* RV SV TS KSA In RV, 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS KSA, into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed)' So at least the TS comm, followed by Kerth, this however implies emendation of the accent of *divah* to *divāh* (ignored by them) If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of 'conflicting prayers' (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff, or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25 1ff) The whole verse is obscure

§110 The rest are obscure if not corrupt

apa snehātār (KS ms *snehātā*, em v Schroeder, SV *snehātum*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhād rāh* [so divide], KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām* (Poonā ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA —KapS reads *snehātī nṛmanām athamdrī* In RV 'He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies' Cf 1 74 2 Benfey takes *adhād* as aorist of *dhā*, and *rāh* as 'riches' The TA comm understands *snuhi* as *bhūmanu prasāvaya* (root *snu*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravanaśīlam* (v 1 *atho*°, as if *atha* = *adhas* + *drā*!) Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV?

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB *anāgaso yathā sadam it sam kṣayema* Vait Comm on TB *adham id, anantaram eva*, but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known It seems to be a nonce-formation = *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā sadam* = *adhā adham*, note that the TB comm assigns to it the meaning of *sadam*, 'always' Cf VV I p 195

upākṛtam śaśamānam yad asthāt (MŚ *sadhasthāt*, v 1 *sad asthāt*) AV TS KS MŚ If *sadhasthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtam* 'fetched from home' or the like

vanā vananti dhṛṣṭalā (MŚ mss *dhṛṣṭadā* and *dhṛṣṭadā*) *rujantah* RV TS JB ŚB MŚ See §60

ud vanṣam va jemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham va menire* Mbh

adhā vṛstah pītum addhī prasūtah KS *adomadam annam addhī pramuktah* AV And others, §870 *adomadam* is obscure, we suspect that it contains *adas* (pronoun)

[*ṭayā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh VS *sadhamādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB And others, §325 Scheftelowitz prints **mādhyeṣu* in RVKh, but his ms **mādyeṣu*]

p and *ph*

§111 Only in the synonymous roots *gusṣ* and *gulph* Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *gusṣ*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph*, *gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*), see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV* 338, top, where *guṣṭitam* ŚB 3 2 2 20 is a misprint of that text

mano yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ *gulphitam*) MS ApŚ

yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ *gulphitam*) *hr̥dī* MS ApŚ

viṣāṇe vi śya guṣṭitam (some mss and comm *gulphitam*) AV

p and *bh*

§112 These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings most commonly the roots *pr* and *bhr*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support' In AV 3 5 4c, *tam priyāsam bahu rocamānah*, we must read *bhriyāsam* with Whitney

manas tanūṣu bibhratah (TB * ApŚ * LŚ *pīpratah*) RV VS TB LŚ

ApŚ Kauś Both readings in TB ApŚ

utem (ŚŚ *uto*) *āṣu mānam pīpartī* (ŚŚ *bībhartī*) AV AB GB ŚŚ One

ms of ŚŚ *pīpartī*, which should perhaps be read even in that text

tam pīpr̥hī daśamāśyo 'ntar udare ŚG *tam muta dasa māso bībhartu*

ApMB HG

*a *tṵā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu* AV 13 1 1d, Ppp according to Roth *pīpartu* for *bi**, which must be secondary if Ppp has *subhṛtam* as

indicated by Roth's silence This is just the converse of the

following, which concerns three *pādas* of AV 11 5 (1d, 2e, 4d)

sa ācāryam tapasā pīpartī (Ppp *bībhartī*),

sarvan sa devans tapasa pīpartī (Ppp *bībhartī*), and

śramena lokāns tapasā pīpartī (Ppp *bībhartī*), all AV and Ppp

§113 There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *lubh*, the former being original both times, see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12 414ff

samyopayanto duritāni visvā RV MG *samlōbhayanto duritā padāni* AV

ayupitā (ApŚ *alubhitā*, and once *ayupitā* by misprint, see Errata to

Vol 2) *yorah* MS ApŚ MŚ

§114 Finally two miscellaneous cases

agner jīhvāsi suhūr (VSK TS TB *subhūr*, KS *supūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (TS

TB *devānām*) VS VSK TS KS TB ŚB ŚŚ *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jīhvā* best

yā sarasvatī varsambhalyā (ApŚ **balyā*, vv 11 **phalyā*, **bhalyā*)

TB ApŚ The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet

are unknown TB comm has a fatuous explanation

ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115 That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e.g. by Wackernagel 1 §218. Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*, and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*). Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, 1 c, p. 252) is cheerfully neglected. The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions. The popular texts, AV and most of the Grhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent, they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language. Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS and KS. RV and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS, MS, ŚB and ApMB—and the RV sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole. But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

bh and *h*

§116 We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah* *grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance. First, *grah* and *grabh* *grbhñāmi* (AV HG *grhñāmi*) *te saubhagatvāya* (ApMB HG *supra-jāstvāya*) *hastam* RV AV AG ŚG SMB PG HG ApMB MG *jaḡrbhmā* (RV *jaḡrbhmā*, TB *jaḡrbhmā*) *te dakṣiṇam indra hastam* RV SV MS TB Svidh. In VV I p. 252 we have suggested that the form *jaḡrbhmā* (comm. *vayam grhītavantah*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive. [In the ms. of this section Bloomfield wrote 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *n* after the labial aspirate.' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form, *jaḡrbhmā* (in which *-mā* is the 1st plural ending) of RV is stupidly altered to *-nā* with thought of the present infix in forms like *grbh-nā-ti* —F E.]

na hy asyā (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma grbhñāmi* RV ApMB *nahī te nāma jaḡrāha* AV

hiranyapāvāh paśum āsu (SV *apsu*) *grbhñate* (AV † *grhⁿ*) RV AV SV *savtā* (AG ApMB HG MG **tā te*) *hastam agrabhīt* (AV SMB MG **hīt*) AV AG ŚG SMB ApMB HG MG *devas te savtā hastam grhñātu* AV

idam rādāh prati grbhñihy (JB *grhñihy*) *aṅgīrah* AV GB JB ŚŚ *bhagas te hastam agrabhīt* (AV **hīt*) AV ŚG ApMB

- agnis te hastam agrabhūt* (SMB °hīt) SMB ApMB HG
aryamā (ApMB °mā te) *hastam agrabhūt* (SMB °hīt) ŚG SMB ApMB
oṣadhayah prati grbhñīta (TS KS *grhnīlāgnim elam*, MS MŚ *grbhñī-*
lāgnim elam) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ
nākam grbhñānāh (TS KS *grh°*) *sukrtasya loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB
agne brahma grbhñīṣva (MS MŚ *grhnīṣva*, KS *grhīṣva*) VS MS KS
 ŚB MŚ
apo devīr (VS ŚB *devā*) *madhumatīr agrhnan* (MS KS *agrbbhnam*,
 VS ŚB *agrbbhnan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
āpo devīh pratigrbhñīta (TS KS ApŚ † °*grhñīta*) *bhasmatat* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
devo vah savitā hiranyapānīh prati (MS MŚ °*pānir upa*) *grhnātu* (VS
 ŚB *pratigrbhñātu*, VSK °*vah savitā pratigrbhñātu*) VS VSK
 TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
aditis te (VS MS ŚB °*tiṣ te*) *balam grhnātu* (VS MS ŚB *grbh°*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ
tam vo grhnāmy (MS *tam te grbhñāmy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TA
prati grhnāmī (MS TB † AŚ *grbh°*) *mahate vīryāya* (MS KS *mahata*
indriyāya) MS KS TB AŚ—TB Poona ed text and comm
grbh°
yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (HG *prati reto grhāna*) ŚG HG *vy asya*
yonim prati reto grhāna ApMB
 §117 The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically
 synonymous roots *bhṛ* and *hr*, without other motive than the close
 similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here
parāpuro nūpuro ye bharanti (MŚ *har°*) AV VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ
 SMB
rātrīm-rātrīm (VS ŚB * *ahar-ahar*, AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam*
bharantah AV VS TS MS KS ŚB (both) *ahar-ahar balim it te*
harantah AV
śarma varmedam ā bhara ApMB *śarma varmatad ā hara* AV
viṣṇuḥ sambhriyamānāh VS *viṣṇur upāvahriyamānāh* TS
prānāpānābhyām balam āharanti (ApMB *ūbhar°*) SMB ApMB
 (Other forms, see Conc.)

§118 Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita*
 (*-dhita*) and *-bhṛta* (*-hṛta*, cf. preceding). Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards
 both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approxi-
 mate synonyms. Cf. also *-dhita* *-bhṛta*, §175
hiranye 'smiṇ samāhātāh (HG *samābhṛtāh*) RVKh HG ApMB Schef-
 telowitz reads °*hṛtāh* in RVKh

devīr devaḥ samāhṛtāḥ (TB °bhṛtāḥ) SV TB *devair devāḥ samāhṛtāḥ* RVKh But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °hṛtāḥ for RVKh, if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone
gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat VS gan° nāma nihitam guhāsu
 TA MahānU And others, §855

sūryaraśnam samābhṛtam TS TB sūryāñ (p p °yāl) sukrām samābhṛtam MS sūrye santam (KS TA sukrām) samāhṛtam (KS TA °bhṛtam) VS KS ŚB TA

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (AŚ prahṛtam, MŚ nihitam) padam hī te
 TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ

§119 Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu*. All are ritualistic epithets compounded with *su-* or *sva-*, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable, one does about as well as another

agner jhuvāsi suhūr (subhūr, supūr) devebhyah (devānām), see §114

ekayā ca dasabhiś ca svabhūte (AV cā suhūte) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ

ŚŚ According to Roth Ppp has *cā bhūte*, evidently intending *cā svabhūte*, which is presumably original Vāyu is addressed

ā tvā subhava (AB AŚ suhava) sūryāya AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

samudram na suhavam (AV subhavas, TB Poona ed suhavam) tasthivānsam AV TB ApŚ mahiṣam nah subhavam tasthivānsam MS —

AVPpp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret, JAOS 35 46, reads *subhuva*. The root *hu* may be concerned here, despite TB comm (*sukhenāhvātum śakyam*)

suhutakṛtaḥ stha AŚ subhūtakṛta stha ApŚ subhūtakṛtaḥ subhūtam nah kṛnuta ŚŚ

§120 In two cases—besides the *grah* *grabh* variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h*

kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ kukuham) rūpam vṛgabhasya (KS rūpam ṛṣ°) rocate bṛhat (VSK bṛhan) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB (pratikas, ApŚ MŚ) —kakuha occurs already in RV, which does not know *kakubha* Cf §23

apām gambhan sīda VS ŚB KŚ apām gambhīram gacha KS ApŚ

apām tvā gahman sādāyām MS MŚ

§121 Miscellaneous cases

brāhmanebhyo hy anujñātā (TA °bhyanu°) TA MahānU hī (a)bhī asambhavyam (JB asamheyam, perhaps for asamkhyeyam) parābhavan
 AV JB

abhi dyumnam (RV VS sumnam) devabhaktam yaviṣṭha (MS KS devahutam yaviṣṭhya) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

nābhimṛṣe (MS KS *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣānah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avalā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu ā*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso †'vatā haveṣu* AV

dh and h

§122 Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhā hi*, participle *hita dhita*), partly on lexical changes

nīnh (MS *nīnṣ*) *pāhi śrūdhi* (SV *hī*) *gīrah* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB Cf Wackernagel I p 253

uṣnena vāya (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB GG *naidhi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG *ihi edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary

upasthe soma āhitah (ApMB *ādhitah*) RV AV ApMB MG Note archaism in ApMB

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh (TS *ānṛhuh*, MS *ānaśuh*) AV TS MS Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *ānṛhuh* under *arh*. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *ānṛdhuh*, see Whitney's note on AV 2 35 1 and Keith on TS 3 2 8 3

gṛdhrāh śitikalāḥ vārḍhrānasas te divyāh (KSA ms *vārḥīnasas te 'divyāh*) TS KSA Von Schroeder emends to *vārḍhrī*°, questionably, see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23
harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB *atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā hṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV Three mss of AV *dhṛṣṭāso*, Ppp ms *ṛṣamānāso ṛṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35 59f, reads *dhṛṣṭā*. The form *hṛṣṭā*° is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa*°. *usrāv* (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam dhūrṣāhau* (VSK MŚ *vāhau*, KS *bādhā*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ

gh and h

§123 We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*

arghah HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG *arghyam bhoh* Kauś *arhanīyā āpah* ApG See §321, end *arh* = *argh*

aṅghārur (ŚŚ *anḥārur*, all mss) *asū bambhārur* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ LŚ The word is obscure, but ŚŚ looks like a phonetic reduction

somam te krīnāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam tvīryāvantam abhīmātṛṣāham

(KS *vīryāvantam bahvargham śobhamānam*) TS KS *somavikrayin somam te krīnāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu śobhamānam* MS *tam ghed agnir vrdhāvati* RV TS *tam hed agnir vidhāvati* MS Particles *gha* and *ha*
vīram h (read *avīraghnī*?) *vīravatah suśevā* MG *avīraghno* (ApMB †
 °nī) *vīravatah* (ŚG *vīratarah*, HG °*tamah*) *suśvīrān* (HG *suśevān*)
 AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

kh and *h*

§124 Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of a frog With this cf *asambhavyam* (JB *asamheyam*) *parābhavan* AV JB, where *asamheyam* may be for *asamkhyeyam*, see §121

khanvakhā3i khaymakhā3i madhye taduri AV *haimahā3 haimahā3*
 KŚ Cf *haimahā3 idam madhv* ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

CHAPTER IV INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

1 GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

§125 Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar. The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VSK affects forms like *tanakm* for *tanacm*, *yunagm* for *yunajm* (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel, I §§119ff, especially 121ff, deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds

k and *c*

§126 The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *ci*

samānam ceto abhīsamvīśadhvam (TB *keto abhīsamvīśadhvam*) AV TB
ā no agne vucetunā (TB ApŚ *suketunā*) RV SV MS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

The *s*-stem *kelas* is *ḱπ λeγ*, and is doubtless due to confusion between *cetas* and *keta*, both of which are historically regular. TB *comm saḥavāsasthānam*, the meaning of the Classical *keta* (perhaps from *ci*, 'pile', rather than *ci*). The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-cetu*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 146, and further Oldenberg on RV 5.66.4, Neisser, *ZWbch d. RV*, s. v. *ketunā*. Yet the reading *suketunā* is evidently secondary.

śokāt (TS *soḱāt*) *prthvyā uta vā divas par* VS TS MS KS ŚB *śocāt* is *ḱπ λeγ* and analogical.

kanīkḥunad wa sāpayan TB *canīkḥudad yathāsapam* AŚ *c-* is again analogical, for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p 147
yatrautān (VS ApMB **nān*) *vettha nūlān parāke* (SMB *parācah*)
 VS AG Kauś SMB ApMB HG MG *parā(ñ)c-* and its extension *parāk-a-*

nū cit (SV *nakih*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV SV *cit* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*, but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred

atho adhvīkartanam (ApMB **cartanam*) RV AV ApMB Here the two roots are unrelated *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie' In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p 145) The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off', the secondary, 'untying'
ima udvāsīkārīna TB ApŚ *imā uddhāsīcārīna* MŚ See §59
 The MŚ reading is secondary and poor, it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kṛ*

§127 In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK, see §125

indrasya (MS MŚ *indrāya*) *tvā bhāgam somena tanacmi* (VSK *tanakmi*, MS MŚ *somenātatanacmi*) VS VSK KS ŚB *somena tvā tanacmīnd-rāya dadhi* TS TB ApŚ

g and *c*

§128 An isolated case concerning unrelated words, the majority reading with *c* is presumably original

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (HG **bhyācārena*, MG **bhyācāre*, AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*) AG PG ApMB MG

k and *ch*

§128a An isolated lexical variant

chavīm (KSA *†kavīm*) *chavyā* TS KSA The latter is doubtless original, assimilation to the next word in TS, resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem

kh and *ch*

§129 Two variants contain forms of *khud* and *chud*, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch* See his references §131b, end, and cf Güntert, *Reinwortbildungen* 23, 32

yatah (MS *yena*) *prajā akhadrā* (MS *achadrā*) *ajāyanta* TS MS KS
akhadrāh (ApŚ *aghorah*) *prajā abhuvāpasya* KS ApŚ *achinnapatrah*
 (MS *trah*) *prajā anuvikṣasva* VS MS ŚB

g and *j*

§130 The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y*. Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack §130c). The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all.

§131 To begin with, VSK as we have remarked (and in one case SV) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127). This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mṛj* and *ṣṛj* with palatal)

mṛdāvarunayos tvā praśāstroh praśūṣā yunajmī (VSK °gmī) VS
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
agnim yunajmī (VSK °gmī) *śavasā ghṛtena* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
 KŚ ApŚ MŚ

agnīṣomābhyān juṣtam nī yunajmī (VSK °gmī) VS VSK ŚB
vājnam tvā vājedhyayai (TS *sapatnasāham*, KS *vājñ vājyatyāyai*)
sam mārjmi (VSK °gmī) VS VSK TS KS ŚB
vājñīm tvā vājedhyāyai (TS *sapatnasāhim*, KS *vājñi vājyatyayai*)
sam mārjmi (VSK °gmī) VS VSK TS KS Corresponding
 formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*, see Conc under *vāja tvā*
upa tvā kāmān mahah saṣṛjmahe RV AV *upa tvā kama īmahe saṣṛjmahe*
 SV

§132 Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *ṣṛj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*

hinvāno mānuṣa yugā (SV *yujā*) RV SV
daivyam mānuṣa yugā RV SV VS TS ŚB *viprāso mānuṣa yugā* KS
daivam mānuṣa yujā MS The SV form of the first variant may
 be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj*. In this
 case both are phonetically normal, as the RV has a neuter plural
 of *yuga* (cf Wackernagel I §123a, d). In the second case also
 MS may have an adverbial instrumental

diṣṭāya rajjusarjam (TB °sargam) VS TB
prajāpate viśvasṛj (MS °srg, mss mostly *sṛk*, one *ṣṛj*) *jīvadhanyah*
 MS TB AŚ † 2 14 12c [also in Conc under *idam no deva pratiharya*

havyam, read AŚ 2 14 12d] ApŚ —The $\alpha\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ *raṅgu*^o seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB comm *raṅgūnām sraṣ(āram)*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem. Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *srj* is carried away with the rest, cf. the familiar nomen actionis *sarga*. The 'historically correct' *sarja*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On *srj srj* see Wackernagel I pp 173f, 329. In the second variant *srj* before *j* might stand for *srt*, cf. below, §142, *brahman tvam asṛ vīśvasrt* (°*sṛk*)

§133 Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*, cf. the same with *k* and *c*, §126, *kanīkhunad* etc. *nī galgalūti dhārakā* VS ŚB *nī jalgalūti* (KSA † mss *jalgalūti*, ed em *jalgalūti*) *dhānikā* TS KSA

§134 The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin. †*praṅyāmasy agratah* HG *praṅyāmasy agratah* PG ApMB *pra-gāyāmy asyāgratah* MG. Verb forms of *pra-gar* and *pra-jaṇ*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG, see Kirste's note.

sadā yācann aham girā (SV *jyā*) RV SV N. Comm on SV reads *girā* with RV. Since *jyā* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*, for **jyām* = **jiyām*. Very dubious.

apa (AV *ava*) *sveta padā jahī* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah* (most mss *apa*) *svetapad āgahī* (so all mss) MG. See §817. *punar brahmāno* (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (°*nītir*, °*dhītam*, °*dhīte*) *yajñarh* (AV MS KS **agne*) AV VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB. See §93.

2 GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135 A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *d*. *ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭaṅkaś ca* HG *tekaś ca sasaramatundas ca* ApMB. See §165.

3 GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136 The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants, in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character, often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.

k and t

§137 We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *skabh*, see Bloomfield, *IF* 4 74ff, Guntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff. Among the variants, RV always has *stabh*, while AV prefers *skabh*.

jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat (AV *aska°*) RV AV
mahān mahi astabhāyad (AV KS † *aska°*) vi *jātaḥ* AV TS KS AB AŚ
yaṃ krandaśi avasā tastabhāne (AV *avataś caska°*) RV AV VS VSK
 TS *ya ime dyāvāprthivī tastabhāne* MS KS AV Ppp (Barret, JAOS 35 44f)

vy astabhnā (VS ŚB *aska°*, MS *aśka°*, KS *aśa°*, TS *askabhnād*, TA *aślabhnād*) *rodasī vṛṇav* (°na, °nur) *ete* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA

divam skabhāna KS *dyām stabhāna* KS

§138 There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion

stūhi śūram vajrinam apratikam (TB *apratītam*) MS TB The Bibl Ind ed of TB has *apratīttam*, but comm and Poona ed text correctly, *apratītam*, 'invincible' MS has a mere blunder
avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB *prānyā tantūns tirato dhatte anyā* AV See Whitney on AV 10 7 42

purā jātrubhya (TA ApMB *jatrībhya*, MS *cakrbhyā*, p p *vaktṛbhyah*)
ātṛdah (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB See §57
ugro (HG *ūrdhuo*, MG *agne*) *virājann* (MG °jam) *apa* (MG *upa*-)
sedha (AV *vṛñkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV ApMB HG MG

§139 Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*), cf §416, to which all these variants also belong

vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena TB *sam te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghṛtena* AV For *vi-unattu* cf RV 1 164 47, 5 83 8, for *sam-anaktu*, RV 10 88 4, 118 4 The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic

devair nyuptā (KS *nuttā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °tvam) AV KS ApŚ MŚ 'Cast forth (KS unpelled, AV spoken) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness)' Ppp reads *mahitvā*, and also *ṣṛṣā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean
anyām ica pīṛṣadam vyaktām (ApMB *vittām*) RV ApMB *jāmim ica pīṛṣadam nyaktam* (read °lām) AV Here the assimilated form of ApMB (with *samprasāraṇa*) is clearly secondary

sarvān it tān anu vidur vasisthāh RV *sarvam uktam anuvīdur vasisthāh*

JB A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB

iha prasatto (AV *prasakto*, TB *prasapto*) *vi cayaḥ kṛtām nah* RV AV MS TB *prasapto* (comm *prakarṣeṇa samāgataḥ san*, as if from *pra-srp* with Prakritic *a* for *r*) has no standing AV, tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached', RV probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later *prasanna*

avivktyar (TB *vivktyar*, read with Poona ed *vivktyar*) *kṣatīdram* VS TB *vivktyar*, 'for discernment', is certainly original TB comm *vīṣeṣa-lābhābhīmānīnyar* but the form of root *vid* is isolated if *vi* be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication

dhātuh kakkāḥ (KSA *kakkataḥ*) TS KS Original form unknown, VS 24 32 has *kakkaḥa*

avimuktacakra (v 1 °rā) *āśīran* PG *vivṛtacakrā āśīnāḥ* HG ApMB

§140 There are also several cases of variation between *kṣ* and *ts*, reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff These variants indeed really belong in that chapter, they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on *ch* In five out of six cases the writing with *kṣ* (thrice in SV, once in AV, once in MS) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable

vṛṣṇanam pṛtsu (SV *pṛkṣu*) *sāsahim* RV AV SV Here only *pṛtsu*, 'in battles', can be meant, 'in delights' (root *pṛc*) is silly

yat te ditsu (SV *dikṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV SV The RV has a nom sg neut of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas* SV clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt')

yad ditsarī (SV *yac chikṣarī*) *stuvate māvale vasu* RV SV In this case the two forms are practically synonyms, *śikṣeyam* and *dītseyam* together in RV 8 14 2, a similar passage RV 1 81 2

agnim (AV *agnih*) *srucō adhvarēṣu prayatsu* (AV *prayakṣu*) AV VS TS MS KS Cf *prayaty adhvarē*, familiar formula in RV at the ends of *pādas* (RVRep 660) Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that *prayatsu* may be for *prayatsū* = *prayakṣu* (*pra-yaj*), but the form does not really construe The hymn AV 5 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54), does not call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the p p leaves it undivided), it is, like most of the SV readings with *kṣ* for *ts*, a phonetic blunder for *prayatsū*

āvatsi (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā aṣadhīh* RV VS TS MS KS Roots *ā-vid-ā-yuṣ*

prāsmān ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu (TB *yutsu*) RV TB Here, of course, *kṣ* is original, *yutsu* is suggested by *pṛtanāsu*

§141 There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations

tādītānā (TB † *°knā*) *śatrum* (TB *°ūn*) *na kulā vivitse* (TB Conc *vivitse*, read *vivitse* with Poona ed text and comm) RV TB *tādīknā* is repeated in the comm (Poona ed), which glosses *tādīśān*¹ It seems that it must mean simply *tādītānā*

§142 Finally, a few cases of interchange between *k* and *t* final All concern the ends of *pādas* Two concern adverbial forms in *-k* from *añc* stems, a third is simply a matter of external sandhi

anamitram no adharāt (KS *°rāk*, VSK *me †adharāk*) AV VSK KS Equivalent adverbs, one abl of *adhara*, the other acc neut of *adharāñc* The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *ottarād adharād* (*°rāg*) *ā purastāt*

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ See §65

brahman (MahānU *brahman*) *tvam asī vśvasṛt* (MahānU *°sṛk*) TA MahānU There is a *v l* *°sṛk* in TA, and as the next sentence begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic Possibly, however, *sṛt* may be for *sṛt* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *r*, cf Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment of this root in general, §149a, α [Delete *brahma tvam asī* etc in Conc]

samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam it*, KS * *sarit*) *śravanī sarito na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ MŚ See §830 *sarasvatī tvā maghavanā abhiṣnak* (TB ApŚ *abhiṣnāt*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Altho TB comm fatuously glosses by *bhiṣ-ayyatu*, *abhiṣnāt* (*abhi + ṣnām*) is doubtless an independent lexical word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k t* enters as a factor While *abhiṣnak* is *āπ λeγ*, the word, as well as the treatment of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary

Note also *yaśo bhagaś ca mā riṣat* MG 1 9 27c, where Knauer reports that practically all his mss point to *riṣak* as the true reading, of course it must mean the same as *riṣat* Cf Wackernagel I §260a, β, small print, §277a

Cf also AV 1 18 2a *nir aranam savitā sāviṣat padoh*, so the vulgate,

but all mss *sāvīṣak*, retained by SPP and approved by Whitney, see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm and Ppp both have *sāvīṣat*. The same form occurs in the VSK version of the following, on the subject of final *k t* see most recently Renou, *Ehrensache für Wilhelm Geiger* 163n, Oertel, *ibid* 137, and our §272a, *na me tad* etc, our §145, and *abhiṣyak* for °ṣyat, PG 3 1 3b (VV I p 242, *infra*)

tasyām no devah (MS *tasyām devah*) *saṁtā dharmam* (VS † VSK † TS † ŠB † *dharmā*) *sāvīṣat* (VSK ° ṣak) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB

The next is an error of the Conc

[*trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB ApŚ *trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛk* KS Conc, but read *rathavṛt*, text °*vṛj jīvo*—]

lh and t

§143 In the single variant following, PG has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyān* in the following, Stenzler on PG 2 11 12 translates the AŚ reading. See his note there, and his critical note

pari satyasya dharmanā (PG *sakhyasya dharmanah*) AŚ PG

g and d

§144 Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants. The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation

ā galdā dhamanīnām (ApŚ *galgā dhavanīnām*) ApŚ MŚ N *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga*-?), *galdā* is R̥gvedic (8 1 20), but nevertheless obscure. Pischel, *VSt* 1 84, and KZ 41 183ff, discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ MŚ. After him many others, see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 1 20. The following word in ApŚ is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamanīnām*, see §225. Caland leaves the pāda untranslated

yad annam adma (PrānāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (etc, §619) AV TA PrānāgU

na var gāvo maṅgīrasya (KŚ *mandīrasya*) KŚ Vait MŚ. Proper names, of unknown etymology

rudras (MŚ *ugras*) *tantīcaro vṛṣā* TB ApŚ MŚ GG KhG

marudbhṛ ugrā ahnīyamānāh AV *marudbhī rudrāh samajānatābhī* TS. Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*

āsmann (KS *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS *ā samudra*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ

In an obscure ritual verse, MS doubtless a lect fac

§145 In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings), as under *k t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence, it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and *°rāk*, which we met in §142, first variant.

ottarād adharād (TB *°rāg*) *ā purastāt* RV MS KS TB

nyudbhīr (AV *viyugbhīr*) *vāya* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *īha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ †*muñcah*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ [Add to VV I §§25 and 156] Also

prayugbhya (TB *prayud°*) *unmattam* VS TB In the first of these two *viyugbhīr* is untenable, because the *nyutah* are technically the span of Vāyu (Bṛhaddevatā 4 140). In the second, *prayugbhyah* of VS is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahidhara, Griffith, 'for Motives'). Comm on TB glosses *prayud°* by *prakarṣena yoddhṛdevebhyah*, as if from *pra-yudh*. At TB 3 7 9 1, ApŚ 12 3 2 occurs *prayutah*, which TB comm glosses *prakarṣena somam mśrayantah* (adopted by Bohtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favoring the TB reading. But PB 1 2 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage, Caland gives up *prayutah*.

nṛcakṣāh soma uta sūsrug (comm, and Poona ed text, *śūsrug*) *astu* TB *sucakṣāh soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ The latter is not quite certain, the mss record forms which look towards the TB reading. But *sasrut* occurs several times in RV. TB obviously contains root *śru* (comm *śrotā*), so that apparently *g = k* must stand for *d = t*. It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, β, note, 277a. See also our §283.

mayam (also *gauram*, *gawayam*, *meṣam*, *śarabham*) *te śug rehatu* (KS *le kṣut*) VS MS KS ŚB Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant.

trīśug (AŚ *°śrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me vibhātu*) KS TB TA AŚ *°śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

yamasya dūtāś ca vāg vidhāvati MS *yamasya dūtāh śvapād vidhāvati* TA The subject is *grāhrah* 'vulture', TA is correct, and MS an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g(k)* and *d(t)* have a share.

dadhry (TA *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV *°kṣan*) *paryañkhayāte* (TA *°tai*, AV *pariñkhayātai*) RV AV TA Roots *dṛh* and *dhā*.

\tilde{n} (for k) and n (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain, it is obvious that MS (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced'
suṇāñ nabhrād MS MŚ *svāñ nabhrād* KS *svāna bhrājāñghāre*
 VS, TS ŚB *svāna bhrāt* TA
amāsi sarvāñ (AŚ *ṣarvāñ*) *asi praviṣṭah* AŚ Kauś The original is
sarvāñ (*sarvāñc* 'turned in all directions'), AŚ secondary

Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest
grāme vidhuraṃ (HG *vikhuraṃ*) *ichanā svāhā* HG ApMB Both in
 wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be ex-
 tracted
aghadviṣṭā devayātā AV Kauś *atharvyuṣṭā devayātāh* ApŚ The latter
 is a mere corruption
deva purascara saghyāsam tvā TA ApŚ *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam tvā*
 MS The former is original 'may I be able to carry thee' MS
 has a slipshod substitute
yad aghriyata (KS *°yathās*) *tad ghṛtam* (KS adds *abhavas*) MS KS *yad*
adhrīyata tad ghṛtam abhavat TS As Keith says, the TS etymology
 is not too bad for a Brāhmaṇa, but the other is certainly original

4 GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148 Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants. They almost all concern k and p , and reveal no new principle. For the peculiar Taittiriya treatment (not mentioned in TPr) of the final sound of the stems *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh* as $k(g)$ in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however k before p), and before j , d , and dh , see Weber, *ISt* 13 109, n 2, Keith, *HOS* 18 p xxxviii. This applies to TB as well as TS, but apparently not to ApŚ

anuṣṭup (TB *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyar* (MŚ *pañkṭaye*) TB ApŚ MŚ
anuṣṭup (TS *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS TS MS KSA
triṣṭub (TS *triṣṭug*) *graiṣmī* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§149 The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird, AV 11 2 25 adds *purīkaya* (comm *pulī*?) It may be noted that most forms contain both p and k somewhere in the word. The original form cannot be determined

matrāya kulīpayān (MS *pulīkayān*) VS MS

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA *ṭkūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA

kulīkā devajāmbhīyah VS *devānām patnībhyah pulīkāh* MS

§150 Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *nicumpuna* in RV decides. It may be onomatopoetic.

avabhṛtha nicumpuna (TS TB ApŚ *nicañkuna*, MS KS MŚ *nicuñ-kuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ ApŚ N

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS TB *nicañkuna*, MS KS *nicuñkunah*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ. In same passage as preceding, nom changed to voc in TS TB by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula.

§151 Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following, lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them.

kanātkābhām (AŚ *pranātkāphā*) *na ābhara* TB AŚ. Note the dental *n* in AŚ, despite preceding *r*. Comm on TB, desperately, *kanakavad bhāsamānām rūpavafim kanyām*. Both forms are hopeless. *baṇḍabojapakāśinī* HG *khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh* ApMB. Again both are hopeless.

kūtanānām (VS ŚB *kukūnanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā patmann ā dhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB *lotanāsu* (sc *te śukra śukram ā dhūnomi*) TS An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoetic, epithet of waters.

śam te (AV * *śam u*, TA *śam u te*, KS MŚ *śam nah*) *santv anūpyāh* (TA *anūkyāh*) AV KS TA MŚ *anūkyāh* might be considered a purely phonetic variant, it should be remembered that Tait texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāh*, from *anūpa*, so comm, *anūpadeśe bhavā anūkyā āpah*. Formally, however, *anūkyā* is unimaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive'?) or 'going along with', approximately 'helping'?), and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA.

pūlyāny (ApMB *kūlpāny*) *āvapantīkā* AV ApMB *lājān āvapantīkā* ŚG PG MG *agnau lājān āvapantī* SMB HG *kūlpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait preference for gutturals, cf the prec and §148.

vanakrakṣam (SV * *prakṣam*) *udaprutam* RV SV 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood' The onomatopoetic root *krakṣ* also in *krakṣamāna*, *awakrakṣin* SV °*prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm, followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'abide'

arṣum (AV *arṣūn*) *babhasi* (ApŚ *gabh*°) *harṭebhur āsabhūh* AV KS ApŚ The ApŚ stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh*° is uninterpretable Caland gives up the verse

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsanī* (MS *apipakṣa āsan*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Original is *apikakṣe*, a certain part of the body MS (p p *api-pakṣah*) may have been influenced by thought of *pakṣa* (cf Keith on TS 1 7 8 3)

visvalopa visvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS GB Vait *visloka visvadāvye tvā samjuhomī svāhā* MŚ *visloka* is perhaps a sort of lect fac, but *visvalopa* is itself not clear, cf Keith on TS 3 3 8 2

§162 The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate, that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved

agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnvann* (RV *apunann*) *uśyo amṛtyave* (RV °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS ApŚ

yad adya dugdham prthvīm asṛpta (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ In MŚ, as in AB AŚ, the parallel following *pāda* contains *asṛpad*, in TB ApŚ, *asarad*

iha prasatto (AV *prasakto*, TB *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtam nah* RV AV MS TB See §139

krānā (SV *prānā*) *sūsur mahīnām* RV SV And

krānā (SV *prānā*, AV *prānah*) *sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat* (RV *avīvasat*) RV SV AV The SV is really inexplicable, AV attempts to rationalize it Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 279 On the much discussed *krānā* see last RVRep 136

devair nyuptā (KS *nuttā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °*tvam*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS °*artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (*vyantu*) *vayah* TS MS KS * TB MŚ GG KhG And others, see §96 The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small' It is hard to apply this meaning here, perhaps adverbially, 'daintily' *asmun goṣṭhe kariṣinīh* (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣinīh*) AV MS Kauś The riming synonyms *kariṣa* and *purīṣa*, cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 16 409ff Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś

kṛyanta (TB *prīyā ta* [so divide]) *ā barhūh* (TB Conc °*his*, Poona ed °*hīh*) *sīda* RV AV KS TB Preceded by *imā brahma brahma-*

vāha (TB †[°]ha) 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB, are pleasing to thee), sit upon the barhis' [pra so agne tavotibhīh] *suwirābhīs* †*thrate* (SV TS *taratī*) *vājabhar-mabhīh* (SV TS [°]karmabhīh) RV SV TS KS
sugandhim (AV *subandhum*) *pativedanam* AV VS ŚB ApŚ *sugandhim* *puṣṭwardhanam* (KS *rayipoṣanam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA Vait, LŚ N The AV changes *sugandhim* by adaptation to the meaning of *pati-vedanam* (*pati* suggests *bandhu*)

§153. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pr* and *gr* (*gur*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *ya* are closely associated. These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants. The roots *ya* and *gr* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise), and *abhi-gr* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *ya* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat *grātus*), see e.g. RV 1 15 3, 3 6 10, 10 15 6. On the other hand *ya* and *pr* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭā-pūrta*), see Windisch, *Festgruss Böhrlingk* 115ff, Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 408ff. In the third variant *abhi-pūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣtam* which recalls *iṣṭāpūrta*. In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gr* is secondary. In the second, KS seems to give the best sense, but may be a *lectio facilior*. The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritualistically so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another. Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance.

indro yajvane prnate (AV *gr*[°]) *ca śikṣati* (AV [°]te) RV AV TB
sviṣṭam agne abhi tat prnāhi (PG *prnāhi*, KS *tad grnāhi*) KS TB ApŚ PG HG
iṣtam vītam (AV *pūrtam*) *abhi-pūrtam* (AV [°]pūrtam) *vaṣaṭhīrtam* RV AV VS TS MS KSA [Delete in Conc. reference to AV under *iṣtam vītam*]

§153a. The following variants, too, concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *kṣ* and *ps* (cf. §§182-6)

somasya drapsam (AV *bhaksam*) *avṛṇīta pūṣā* (AV *sakrah*) AV TS MS KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit, it is hard to see any reason for preference.
hṛtsu kratum varuṇo (MS [°]nam) *vikṣv* (RV *apev*, MS *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV VS †TS †MS KS ŚB †

5 PALATALE AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*, the combinations *dy* and *gy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *t* before *i* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156

c and *t*

§155 Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots *car* and *tar*

yajñasyāyur anu sam caranti (AŚ *tarantu*) TS AŚ Cf *yajñayur anusamcarān* TB ApŚ

na tad (AV *narṇam*) *rakṣānsi na piśācāś caranti* (VS °*cās taranti*, AV °*cāh sahanṭe*) RVKh AV VS But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh as VS

achinnam tantum anu sam tarema (TA *carema*) AV TA Comm on AV *car*°

śamyāh prataratām (Vait °*tū*) *va* (MŚ *pracarātām iha*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§156 The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt, the first two have interesting phonetic aspects

sā śantāhi (SV °*ā*, TB ApŚ °*cī*) *mayas karad apa śridhah* RV SV TB ApŚ

The TB ApŚ reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in -*āci*, fem to -*āñc* (like *prāci*), so, perhaps, the comm understood it (*anṛṣṭasāmanapṛāpikā sāñ*). But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel Cf next

arciṣātrino nudatam pratīcah AV *arciṣā śatrūn dahatam pratītya* AG Here in the secondary AG we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding

satyaugasā TS MS KS *sacetasau* AV See §305 Here we suspect that AV is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c*

agre (TB *agne*, Poona ed *agre*) *yajñasya cetatah* (RV *śocatah*) RV KS TB

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ

jagdhā vitṛṣṭur (HG *vicaṣṭur*) HG ApMB And others, see §634 Oldenberg on HG assumes *vitṛṣṭi*, 'thirst'

dvo vābhīsthām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vīstasṭhe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ

yat kṣurena marcayatā (MG *varṭayatā*) *sulejaśā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supēśāśā*) AV AG PG HG ApMB MG —AVPpp reads *varcayatā* (*varcas*)

vācam (RV AV *vātam*) *viṣṇum sarasvatīm* RV AV VS TS MS ŚB *viṣṇum vācam sarasvatīm* KS *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*, note that KS places it next to that word AV comm also has *vācam*

śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam (TB *vicar°*) RV TB The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato* Comm regards it as an intensive formation from root *tvar*! (*viśeṣena tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*)

yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya PB *yunajmi tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *viṛtah sūryah save, or savah*) TS ApŚ MŚ Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf next See §57

j and *t*

§157 Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants, the phonetic aspects are faint

sabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB ApŚ *vrajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary *tato yajñas tāyate visvadānīm* KS MŚ *tato yajño jāyate visvadānīm* TB ApŚ *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf e.g. RV 7 10 2, 9 102 7, 10 90 15 It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss but one of MŚ as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect *fac jāyate*

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB ApŚ *ṛjudhā*) *nayantu* VS TB ApŚ *yajñam ṛtuthā* is supported by RV 1 170 5, 8 44 8, but in RV 2 3 7 the two points of view blend in *ṛju yahṣatah yajantāv ṛtuthā* They are in fact nearly synonymous

saṁ bāhubhyām dhamatī (etc, §853) *saṁ patatrāṁ* (KS *yajatrāṁ*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

c and *d*

§158 Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*, in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of sense to the preceding *vacas*

śomāya vaca udyatam (SV *ucyate*) RV SV

girā-girā ca dakṣase (KS *cakṣase*) RV SV VS MS KS PB ApŚ

sadd (MS *śacyā*) *pasyanti sūrayah* RV SV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

NṛpU and other Up One ms of KS has *sadyā*¹

aṇaṣmādyāsanāma ca (AV *°sanāmādyā*) RV AV *ca* and *adya*

j and d

§159 Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *jy* in the roots *dyut*, *jyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a) It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *jyām* and *jman* are displaced by *dyām*, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatām*, MS *°riyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan*
VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

ava jyām wa dhanvānah SV Vait Kauś ApMB *ava dyām wa dhanvānah*
HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29

upa jmann upa velase VS TS MS KS ŚB *upa dyām upa velasam* AV
Vait Kauś The absurd AV₁ reading involves, like the preceding,
a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, see Whitney's note

pavamānah so adya nah RV VS *pav° svarjanah (suvār°)* MS KS TB
ApŚ HG BDh In a secondary lect fac, *dy* becomes *j*

imam (MS *imam ca*, VS TS ŚŚ *ya imam*) *yajñam svadhayā* (KS
AŚ *°yā ca*, MS *sudhayā*) *dadante* (AŚ *yajante*, ŚŚ *bhagante*) VS
TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

dawjyā dhartre joṣṭre (MS *dhātṛe deṣṭre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Note
the palatal diphthong after *d*, which is however doubtless secondary
uccairvāṇi pṛtanāṣṭi (HG *°sāham*, ApMB *°vāḍi pṛtanāṇi*) RVKh HG
ApMB If ApMB is correct (v l *°vāṇi* is recorded) it is a hyper-
Sanskritic absurdity, no form of root *vad* can be concerned here

prati śma (AV *śma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV *jahi*) RV AV

ichanto 'paridāktān ApMB *īpsantah parijāktān* HG See critical
notes on HG 2 3 7 Both forms seem uninterpretable Olden-
berg on HG, 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently under-
standing *°jāgrtān*

erum tundānā (TS *perum tuṇjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV TS Roots *tuj*
and *tud* are practically synonyms See Whitney on AV 6 22 3,
Keith on TS 3 1 11 8, and cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 1 45 4
The AV comm reads *tuṇjānā*

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih MS *mā nah param adharam*
(MŚ *†adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naih* (MŚ *naih*) TA MŚ See §836

j and dh

§160. Only lexical variants

mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā (MS *jajanaḥ janiṣṭham*) RV VS
MS KS TB Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS to
suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *januṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son' Cf the following similar variant
oṣadhibhyah paśubhyo me dhanāya (TS *paśave no janāya*) TS KS
 ApŚ † MŚ
athāsya madhyam ejatu VS LŚ *athāsya* (TS MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam*
edhatām (Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejatu*) VS TS MS ŚB TB
 AŚ ŚŚ Vait *adhāsya madhyam edhatām* KSA

y and *d*

§161 This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense) The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *j* and *d* on the one hand, and between *j* and *y* (below, §§192f) on the other
sūyavasini manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA ° *syē*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
daśo (TB *yaśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇāh* (TB °*nām*) TB AŚ Note that *d* is followed by *i*

6 PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162 Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies We do not include here cases like *kakup* (TS *kakuc*) *chandah*, where the TS reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178

lasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmi TS
paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB Corruption in TS, see Keith Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning

vīty arṣa canuṣṭhayā (SV *panuṣṭhaye*) RV SV See §86
vāyosāvitra (MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*)
 TS MS KSA

7 LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163 In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *r*, *r* (*l*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145-7) There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid §148a, cf especially §133, note), and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid §156a) In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence Namely dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §§218–25), some dialects show the reverse tendency Especially *n* becomes *ṇ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224) The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies We include also the nasals *n* and *ṇ*, except when *n* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945–54)

§164 We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit Here first we have three cases of *avaṭa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely
avataśya (SV *avaśasya*) *visarjane* RV SV

iṣkṛtāhavam avatam RV *niṣkṛtāhavam avatam* TS ApŚ
gāva upāvatāvataṃ (SV *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV SV VS

§165 Next, some demonic names in the Gṛhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable, it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously
tekaś ca sasaramatañkaś ca HG *tekaś ca sasaramatandas ca* ApMB
manthākako (HG *mandākako*) *ha vah pitā* HG ApMB

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS KapS may be due to the preceding *r*

aḍamṛdā yavyudhah KS *avlabṛdā* (MS *amṛdā*, KapS *ilamṛdā*) *āyur-yudhah* (TS *yavyudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS See §241
Cf also *ahar* (MS *vahad*, v 1 *vahad*, p p *vahat*) *dwābhar* (MS *divyābhar*)
ūtibhah VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ See §§272, 272a

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *pan*, *paṇ*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf Pischel, *Ved St* 1 199ff For attempts to explain *pan* as going back to an IE root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note

sā me satyāśir devān gamyāj juṣṭāj juṣṭatarū panyāt panyatarā (KS *panyāt panyatarā*) MS KS ApŚ Cf Durga on N 6 8 (Roth's Erläuterungen 76 foot)

§166 These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization

The curious form *padbhīs* which varies twice with *padbhīs* has been explained in this way, this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr plural. Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 11 350ff, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff, Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63 300ff, Pischel, *Ved St* 1 228ff

uro vā padbhīr (Kauś *padbhīr*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB *ta*, but Jorgensen *te*) TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Kauś SMB

padbhīs (ApŚ *padbhīs*) *caturbhīr akramāt* AV ApŚ One ms at AV 3 7 3 also *padbhīs*, but Ppp *pad*^o

§167 In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *vah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual, see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS has *ḍitya-vāt* and *turya-vāt* in the same passage where *paṣṭha-vāt* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *ṭ*

paṣṭhavāt (TS *vāt*) *vayah* VS TS MS KŚ ŚB ApŚ

paṣṭhavāt (TS *vāt*) *ca me paṣṭhauhī ca me* (MS omits *me*, twice) VS TS MS KŚ

§168 Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ṣ*, in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*

ṛghā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ

ŚG HG *vepidhvam* is an *iṣ*-aorist, *vepadhvam* present

purovāta (KS *to*) *ṇṇva rāvat* (KS *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS KS *purovāto*

varṣaṇ ṇṇvar āvrt svāhā TS ApŚ And similarly other formulas,

beginning *lapati* etc, all in TS 2 4 7 2, MS 2 4 7, KS 11 9, all

containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvaṭ* etc in the same forms.

A natural assumption would be that the lingual *ṭ* in MS is due to

an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS (which divides badly,

ṇṇvar-āvrt for *ṇṇva-rāvrt*), the dental *t* of KS might be due to

dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf §632. The words are mere

interjections and any form would pass

vikrīda (VS *dra*, KS *da*) *vilohita* VS TS KS *vyakṛda vilohita* MS

Obscure epithets of Rudra, cf TB *atī-kṛiṣa*. The original presence

of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS and MS.

The dental of TS may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.

§169 Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions First, the ritualistic root *īd* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms Twice the SV substitutes the more banal *indh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *īd* 'revere'

agnim īdīta (SV *indhīta*) *martyah* RV SV

yam sīm (SV *sam*) *īd anya īdate* (SV *indhate*) RV SV

The same *īd* figures along with the similar *vīd* (and adjective *vīdu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies

tigṃam anīkam vīdatam sahasvat AV *tigṃam āyudham vīdatam* (KS °dham *īdītam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS In AV *vīdatam* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *vīdatam*, certainly KS *īdītam* is equally secondary

dhiṣane vīdū (VS VSK *vīdvī*, KS *vīte*, MS MŚ *īdīte*) *satī* (MS KS MŚ omit) *vīdayethām* (MS MŚ *īdethām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *vīdū* or *vīdvī* 'firm', *vīte* 'pleasant', *īdīte* 'revered' KS is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness KapŚ has *īdīte vīdayethām*

§170 The rest are sporadic

pari no hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK °yāt) RV VSK *pari no hedō varunasya vṛjyāh* RV *hetī* and *hedas* are quasi-synonyms See the list of very similar formulas, *RVRep* 573

dvo vābhīṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ *†nīṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitas* the VSK TB KŚ ApŚ See §156

yaṇām (KS *yaṇīyā*) *yaṇām prati devayadbhyah* (KS † ŚŚ † °yadbhyuh) VSK TS KS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ The stem *deva-ya-* (in sandhi °yad) varies with the denominative participle *devayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary

sarasvatyā (AV °yām) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v 1 *manā*, AV *manāv*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jorgensen *manāv*) *acarkṣuh* (KS SMB Jorgensen, *acarkṣuh*, SMB Conc *carkṛdhī*, KS v 1 *acark*°) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'), but the AV (loc of *manī*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone')

aṣṭdhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB *mādhuse*) RV TB N

ghṛtam duhānā visvatah prapītāh (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPPP *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS TB ApMB See §198

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §838 *nāvaś caranti svarīca vyānāh* VS TS ŚB *nāvo vyanti svarīca na vānīh* MS KS

mā no agnam (p p *agnih*) *nirṛtir mā na āṣṭān* (p p *āṣṭhām*) MS *mā no rudro nirṛtir mā no astā* TA See §87

In ŚŚ 17 12 1 *sarvā vinudya samtrdyah* (cf critical note, top of p 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals

8 DENTALS AND LABIALS

§171 Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*, we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff, 122)

dh and *bh*

§172 We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi*. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too

bhadrād abhi (AV Kauś *adhi*) *śreyah prehi* AV TS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh *svapna svapnābhikaranena* AV *brahmādhiguptah* (PG *brahmābhi*°) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah syām*) *svāhā* AG PG *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣānah* MG See Stenzler's Translation of AG 2 4 14 (p 73, n 2), and the critical note on MG 2 8 6

tayor devā adhīsamvasantah ApŚ *tasyām devā adhi samvasantah* TS TB *yasyām* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi samvasantah* MŚ

viśvāvasur abhi tan no grṇātu RV TA *vīrebhur adhi tan no grṇāno* etc MS

samānamūrdhnīr abhi (PG *adhi*) *lokam ekam* TS MS KS PG *tā ekamūrdhnīr abhi lokam ekam* AV

tṛtīye dhāmāny abhy (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *avrayanta* VS TA Mahān U *idam* (PG *imam*) *tam adhiṣṭhām* (PG MG *abhi*°) ŚŚ AG MG PG *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmi* (AV *punāti*) RV AV

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG

mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ

adhi skanda vīrayasva AV *abhi kranda vilayasva* ŚG

ṛṣinām putro adhīrāja eṣah (AŚ *avīrāja eṣah*, AV *abhiṣastipā u*, VS

ŚB *abhīśastipāvā*, TB *abhīśastipā ayam*) AV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TB AŚ SMB N

yamo rājābhīṣṭaḥ (KS MŚ *rājādhi*°) KS TA ApŚ MŚ

§173. As the roots *skabh* and *stabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *śudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV seems to prefer *śubh* (five times), Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency

tena mā saha śundhata (AV *śumbhantu*) RV AV See VV I p 239
tāni brahmā tu (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV *śumbhati*, ApMB
śansati) RV AV ApMB

śumbhantām lokāḥ pṛṣṭadanāḥ AV *śundhantām* etc VS MS KS

ŚB MŚ *śundhatām lokāḥ pṛṣṭadanāḥ* TS ApŚ

śumbham mukham mā na āyih pra moṣih AV *sunddhi* (*śundhi*) *śra*
māsyāyuh pra moṣih AG PG ApMB MG

āpah śundhantu (AV *visve śumbhantu*) *mainasah* AV VS KS ŚB TB
antah śubhrāvata (SV *śundhyāvata*) *pathā* RV SV

§174 An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *sūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh*, this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *sudh*, the latter being replaced by *sūd*

aśūśubhanta (TS TB *aśūśudanta*) *yaṣṭīyā ṛtena* TS MS KS TB

§175 In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles *dhṛta* and *bhṛta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hṛta* and *bhṛta*, §118

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu (Ppp *pīpartu*) AV *sa no rāṣṭreṣu*
sudhṛtām dadhātu TB

garbha va (SV KU, Poley's ed, *vet*) *subhṛto garbhīnībhīh* (RV *sudhṛto*
garbhīnīṣu) RV SV KU

§176 Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants

dhartāras (ApMB *bhar*°) *te* (MG *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riṣāma* SMB
 ApMB MG

bhākṣimahi (TS MS KS Vait *dhukṣimahi*) *prajāṃ vṣam* RV SV TS
 MS KS PB Vait

anādhrṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ VS MS KS ŚB *anubhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānāḥ*
 TS Both mean 'undefeated'

saṃ bāhubhyām dhamatī (AV *bharatī*, TS TA *namatī*, KS *namate*,
 MS °*bhyām adhamatī*) *saṃ patatrāḥ* (KS *yajatrāḥ*) RV AV VS
 TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

nikīrya (MŚ KŚ *niḡīrya*) *tubhyam madhye* (MŚ *madhvah*, Vait *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ *sarvā ādhih*) KŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ See §47
avikṣobhāya (KS *°kṣodhāya*) *parudhīn dadhām* KS TB ApŚ 'For non-disturbance' 'for non-hunger' KS makes inferior sense
andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya VS ŚB KŚ *ambhah* (TS ŚŚ *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ MG *andhah* '(soma-) juice' *ambhah* 'waters'
bhansaso (ApMB *dhvansaso*) *vi vrhām te* RV AV ApMB Here ApMB is meaningless

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177 There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p*
vi senābhīr dayamāno (SV *bha*°) *vi rādhāsā* RV SV *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean
bhūrnam (MŚ v 1 *tūrnam*) *devāsa iha susriyam dadhuh* RV KS ApŚ MŚ

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmidṛṇho* 'cyutaś cyāvayīṣnuh' AV Quasi-synonyms 'establishing', 'saving'

§178 Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *kakup* (representing stem *kakubh*) and *kakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *kakun*, all by regular sandhi for *kakud* Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS and TB use *kakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf Weber, *IndSt* 13 109, Keith, *HOS* 18 p xxxviii)

kakup (and, *trikakup*) *chandah* VS MS KS ŚB *kakuc* (and, *trikakuc*) *chandah* TS

kakup (TB *kakuc*) *chanda ihendriyam* VS MS KS TB
apām napād āsuheman ya ūrmih kakudmān (MS *ūrmih pratūrtih kakubhvān* , KS *ūrmih pratūrtih kakudmān*) TS MS KS
devīr āpo yo va ūrmih pratūrtih kakunmān VS VSK ŚB
brhaty uṣṇihā kakup (TS *kakut*) VS TS MS KSA

d and *b*

§179 A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure, applied to fire-bricks

ambā ca bulā ca MS MŚ *ambā dulā* TS , cf *ambāyay svāhā dulāyay svāhā* TB 3 1 4 1

Another lexical variant

abaddham mano TS KŚ BDh *adaddham mana* (MŚ *cakṣur*)
MŚ ŚG

t and *p*

§180 These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies

tiro raḡānsi asṛtah (SV *asṛtah*) RV SV Both mean 'unconquerable'

The RV version occurs also with accusative *asṛtam*, 8 82 9b *ye cit pūrva ṛtasūpah* (AV °*sātāh*) RV AV Cf RV 1 179 2a, *ye cid dhi pūrva ṛtasūpa āsan*, which confirms the RV reading, if confirmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of AV ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the *ṛta*')

matsarāsah prasupah (SV °*taḥ*) *sākam īrate* RV SV Epithets of Soma. The SV rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand (comm *prakarṣena sūtāh* ['], *abhiṣūtāh*) Benfey, 'zeugend' = *pra-su(t)*, but the comm is right to the extent of connecting SV's word with *su* 'press' The RV reading is obscure, cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9 69 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *wap*)

vahnih samtarano (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA Practically synonyms, both 'rescuing'

devair nyuptū (KS *nuttā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °*tvam*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

yat kṣurena marcayatā (MG *varlayatā*) *supesasū* (AV MG *sutejāsū*)

AV AG PG ApMB HG MG Nearly synonyms See §156
upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °*nā ihāgotam*) MS TB TA

mitro (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* RV VS TS MS TA

sacetasāv (VSK °*sā*, delete 'MS' in Conc) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB *sacetasau saretasau* TB *samokasau sacetasū arepasau* MS *samokasāv* (KS °*sā*) *arepasau* TS KS Kauś The TB has a lect fac to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacetasau* (comm *ekakarmapravartakau bhūtāv*)

yo gopā api (TB ApŚ *gopāyati*) *iam huve* RV AV TB ApŚ The denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula 'understood'

susevam somapitsaru (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh *susīmam somasatsaru* AV—Ppp (Roth) *sweṣam* (intending *suṣevam*) *somapitsalam* For *suṣīmam*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption Whitney and Keith regard the TS reading as the correct one, in that case the reading **pīsarū* would contain dissimilation But it is improbable that the isolated TS has the original reading With Mahīdhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker'; and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf *paśu-sá*, *prīya-sá*, both RV), both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the cpd would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV 'having a soma-winning handle')

dhīpsyam vā samcakara janēbhyah MS *adītsan vā samjagara janēbhyah* TA 'Intending to deceive' 'not intending to give' Others, §45 *āsannasūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn* RV AV TS KSA MS N *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV The latter is wholly secondary, see §820

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS In AV desid of *ā* + *ṛdh*, but comm *ecchamānah*, which suggests that TA intends *eccha*^o (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*) MS has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*

tato na (na tato, na tadā) vicikitsati (vijugupsate) VS VSK ŚB BṛhU KU IśāU See §45 Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch*, see §182

n and *m*

§181 There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mī* and *nī*, these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124, to §119 should be added the following, omitted there

pratilāmūti (AŚ **nūti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmūti*) *te putā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language

The rest are scattering

agdhād eko 'hutād ekah samasanād ekah TS *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko sanāsanād ekah* MŚ TS, 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith) Knauer takes the MŚ form as *sana* + *a-sana* + *ad* Both uncertain Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned *mademendram* (MS *maden*^o) *yajamānāh svarkāh* VS MS KS ŚB TB Von Schroeder emends KS to *maden*^o, without justification, the opt *madema* is probably the original form The other, with instr

sg *madena*, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence Assimilation or dissimilation in MS ?

kad va ṛtam kad anṛtam (SV *anṛtam*) RV SV See Benfey's note in his translation of SV, which is obviously secondary

jīvam (ApMB *jīvām*) *rudantī vi mayante* (AV *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV °ram) RV AV ApMB Clearly a secondary effort in AV to make an obscure passage 'sensible'

abhīmam (TS °mām, MS MŚ v 1 °mān) *mahimā* (VS MŚ v 1 °mā) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness', in the secondary VS *mahimā* (sec to Mahidhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject

jāmum (KS †camu) *mā hinsr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ *mā jāmum moṣṭr amuyā śayānām* AV The MŚ is clearly secondary

akṣānām vagnum (MS †vagnum, AV *ganam*, read *gatnum*) etc, AV MS TB TA See §832

puteva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB HG See §835

nen na ṛnān TA *nem na ṛnān* MS See §180 Particles *id* and *im*

śūro nṛṣātā savasas (SV MS *śra°*) *cukānah* (SV *ca ṭkāme*) RV SV TS MS

CHAPTER V INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182 Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126-34, 154-61) contain some similar phenomena, and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192). Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *lṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections.

1 *ch* varying with *lṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

§183 These changes are distinctly Prakritic, cf. above, §26, and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions, when *kṣ* etc. are secondarily substituted for *ch*, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss., so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss. we may mention *etatsandah* for *etac chandah* MS 3, p. 22, n. 3, *āvṛchala* for *āvṛtsala*, ibid. 1, p. 18, n. 7, *itsala* for *ichala* Kauś. 73. 15, *patsah* for *pacchah* Kauś. 82. 29. See further BR, s. vv. *kaputsala*, *ucchādana* etc. The pāda *parwādam parikṣavam*, AV Nakṣ., is read *parichavam* in many AV mss., see Lanman's note ap. Whitney, and the Berlin ed. reads *uchantūnā maruto ghṛtena* in 3. 12. 4, with all of R-Wh's mss. and most of SPP's, tho SPP reads (correctly) *ukṣantūdnā* with three mss. and comm. (Ppp, Barret JAOS 32. 366, has *ukṣantūnā*, emended by Barret to *ūdā*). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo 'smat samṛchātaz*, TA 2. 4. 1c, the mss. at MS 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly *samṛtsātām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA reading—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV *kṣu*, as for **pśu* (*paśu*), IF 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

§184 Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss, concern *kṣ* and *ch*

vācaspatē vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Tho *āyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption See VV I p 29

somī ghoṣena yachatu (SV *vakṣatu*) RV SV The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs, *ā-yam* and *ā-vah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither' SV is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV *pūṣābhī rakṣatu*) RV AV *anu-yam* 'guide', *abhi-rakṣ* 'protect' Quasi-synonyms, but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics The RV original is much more neat and pointed

achalābhīh (KSA *acharābhīh*, MS *atsarābhīh* in p p, *matsarābhīh* in s p, VS *ṛkṣalābhīh*) *lapīṇjalān* VS MS TS KSA In AV 10 9 23 occurs the form *ṛcharā*, with v 1 *ṛtsa* *ā*, which is supported by Ppp The word is a name for a part of the horse's body, its original form is quite unknown Note that *ts* as well as *kṣ* and *ch* occurs Either *ts* or *kṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f

§185 For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find *namahkṛchrebhyah kṛchī apatibhyaḥ ca vo namah* MS KS *namo grtsebhyo grtsapatibhyaḥ ca vo namah* VS TS See §45

In AV 19 34 2a the mss read mostly *jāgrtsyas tripañcāsīh* (v 1 *yā gr*°, Berlin cd *akṣakṛtyās*, certainly wrongly) For this Ppp reads (with slight corruption, Barret, JAOS 44 262) *yāh kṛchchrās* For the true Śaunakīya reading see §192

§186 For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this *ichanto 'paridāktān* ApMB *īpsantah pariyāktān* HG The two words are of course perfect synonyms One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *icha-* and *īpsa-* by Goldschmidt, *Gott Nachr* 1874, 525, note

2 *sy* exchanging with *s-c* or *s(h)* plus sibilant

§187 In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-sya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *h* the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant) All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions Either reading may be at times the older

§188 We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya*

stomo yajñas ca (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo havīṣmatā* (TB °*tah*) RV TB

The TB awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it, comm. *yajñena tvam ārādhanīyah* —Here the nominative is the original form, in the next two it is secondary to the genitive *na vas śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG ApMB HG MG In AG the epithet *śveta* is attracted to the noun *ahir* in the next pāda Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG makes good sense, a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes

ubhāv indrā (SB *indro*) *udithah sūryas ca* VS ŚB *aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °*nāv*) *uditā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS The Conc unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŚB as an error, it is a nom sing, replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (= Indra and Sūrya) of VS to match the complementary nom sing *sūryas* which follows, cf Edgerton, KZ 43 110ff

yad uttaradrāv uparas ca khādatah AV *yad apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS ApŚ

§189 In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *h* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant, again the movement may be in either direction

dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoh (AV *supratikah sasūnoh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding Agni is meant both times See Whitney on AV 5 27 1

dhyā martah śakamate (SV *martasya śamalah*) RV SV The SV has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza, see VV I p 164

yaso bhagas ca mā vdat (MG *riṣat*, ~~msc~~ mostly *riṣak*) PG MG *yaso bhagasya vdatu* ArS Conc suggests *bhagaś ca* for ArS No doubt PG is original ('let glory and fortune find me') But ArS makes *yaśo* object, and since *bhagaś* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive 'let him find glory of fortune'

viprasya dhārayā kavāh RV *viprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV In SV the stem *vipra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sutah*, for RV *kavāh*, which is a synonym of *vipra* and which SV contains in the preceding pāda

somah sutasya madhuh RV *somah sutah sa madhumān* SV Like the prec., the genitives are (so naturally!) made to agree with *somah*

yunajmi tistro viprah sūryasya te (MŚ *vīrtah sūryah save*, or *savah*) TS ApS MŚ *yuktas tistro vimṛjah sūryasya* PB—MŚ is clearly corrupt

mānasya patni saranā syonā AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG The latter is hopelessly corrupt, Oldenberg follows AV in translating

3 Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kṣ̌*, and *khy*

§190 The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kh* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118 Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khy* in variation with *kṣ* or *kṣ̌* For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS, and once in KS, is spelled *kṣ̌ā*, cf von Schroeder, Introduction to MS, p XLIII In fact the mss vary greatly, but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition This writing is also known to the grammarians

anukhyātre (KS **kṣātre*) *namah* KS GB Vait KŚ The *kṣ̌* of KS (both mss) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*

vy akhyān (MS *akṣān*) *mahīṣo dwam* (AV * TS *mahīṣah s(u)vaḥ*) RV AV (bis) SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The mss of MS vary, p p *akhyat* AVPpp agrees with RV

indra ṛbhukṣā marutah parā khyān (MS *kṣān*) RV VS TS MS KSA N All mss of MS here *kṣyān*, p p *khyān*

anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat (MS MŚ *akṣat*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApS MS All mss of MS *akṣat* or *akṣyat*, p p *akhyat* But most mss of MŚ *akṣat*

vikhyāya (MS *vikṣāya*) *caḥṣṭā tvam* VS TS MS KS ŚB

śar abhwyakhyam (MS MŚ **kṣam*) *jyotir vaṣvānaram* MS KS MŚ *śar* (KhG *sur*) *abhwyakhyam* KS ApS GG KhG

ṇcākṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ *kṣeṣam*) TS MS *duścakṣās te māvaṣat* (KS text with one ms **kṣat*, v l **khyat*) MS KS *tam te duścakṣā māva khyat* TS † (so read) Whatever be the writing of KS, the meaning can only be that of *ava-khyā*

§191 In the following the reverse condition is found, the readings with *khy* are secondary to *kṣ*

yas te agne sumatim marto akṣat (AV *akhyat*, v 1 *akṣat*) RV AV If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form) *viśvākṣam* (MahānU °*khyam*) *viśvasambhuvam* TA MahānU No doubt *viśvākṣam* 'having eyes all over', is the original, but *viś-vākhyam* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'

udhmasyeva prakṣāyatah (ŚŚ *prakhyā*°) TB TA ŚŚ ApŚ Both TB and TA comms derive from root *kṣi* with intransitive meaning('), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)', and similarly Caland on ApŚ Better from *pra-kṣā* (*kṣai*) 'burning up' In any case the ŚŚ (all mss) form shows phonetic decay, it makes no independent sense

4 *j* and *y* exchanging

§192 The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b, and above, our §§156, 159, 161 The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss, e.g. in AV 3 11 6 several mss read *javam* for *yavam*, and the comm evidently had this reading before him Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case

uto (ŚŚ and GB Gaastra, *uta*) *padyaūbhur yaviṣṭhah* (AB *ja*°) AV AB GB ŚŚ The Berlin ed of AV also reads *yaviṣṭhah*, against all mss There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form, the word can only mean 'swiftest' But only AB reads so in the mss, while not only AV and its Brāhmaṇa, GB, but the independent ŚŚ, have the 'corrupt' reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss, regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology Similarly in the next

yajñā (*yaṣṭñā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*, GB Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurogavāśah* (*avictanāśah*), *yaṣṭñād eta sann apuro*°, see §62 Again there is no doubt that *yaṣṭñā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts

tato ha yaṣṭñe (MŚ *tato* 'ham *yaṣṭñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāh* (MŚ *goptā*) TB ApŚ MŚ *te ha yaṣṭñe bhu*° *gopāh* PB Here the reverse change has occurred, MŚ is clearly secondary

śalam yo nah śarado ajīlān (SMB Conc *ajījāt*, comm *ajījanat*, PG *jījān*) TS SMB PG But Jorgensen reads for SMB *ajīyāt*, comm *ajīyād ajyāt*, *aja gatikṣepanayoh*, *gamayatu ity arthah*. Three mss of the text read *ajyāt*. See VV I p 92f

saujāmim (ŚG *sauyāmim*), sc *tarpayāmī*, AG ŚG Here *saujāmim* (so v 1 of ŚG) is doubtless original. It is a n, pr

yajñasya hi stha rtvijā (TB ApŚ *rtvijau*) RV SV KS PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *yajñasya rtvij-* is established from RV 1 1 1 on

tasro yāhvasya (MS MŚ *jihvasya*, v 1 *yah*) *saṃudhah pariṣmanah* RV MS ApŚ MŚ *jihvasya* probably corrupt, and certainly secondary

īśāno vi syā (= *śiyā*, TS *srjā*) *dṛtim* AV TS MS KS The two forms are synonyms, TS is secondary

jagrītsyas tripañcāśīh AV 19 34 2a, mss (v 1 *yā gr*°), R-Wh *akṣakṛtyās*, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note. Read either *yā grītsyas*, or better *yāh* (or *yās ca*) *kṛtyās*. Cf §185

añjanti suprayasam pañca janāh RV MS, 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possessed of good regalement' *yunjanti suprajāsam* etc., AVPpp 2 74 1 (Barret, JAOS 30 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedic sense)

§193 Somewhat remoter are the following

hṛdo astu antaram taj yujōṣat (TA *tad yuyōta*) RV KS TA—TA secondary

samvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG *ramayata* (KS *īā*) *marutah syenam āyinaṃ* (MŚ *īah pretam vāyinaṃ*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

āsum tvājau (ApŚ *ōkhum tvā ye*) *dadhīre devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ Corrupt in ApŚ, Caland translates the KS reading. Explained in §296

ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rte*, P B *tyakṣate*) *cud abhīśṛṣah* RV AV SV PB † 9 10 1a, TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG *jari cetid* (mss *cetid*, p p *cya iti, it*) *abhīśṛṣah* MS (corrupt)

5 Palatal stops and ś(ṣ)

§194 There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently, as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency). But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters. The single case of § 18

abhy arṣata (AV Vait Kauś *arcata*) *susṭutim gavyam āyīm* RV AV VS KS Vait ApŚ Kauś For the favorite formula *abhy-arṣ* with *susṭutim* see *RVRep* 523ff The AV variant is a lect fac (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*)

§195 The rest concern ś

pratyañ janān samcukośāntakāle N in Durga (Roth, Erläuterungen 12, n 4), *pratyañ janās tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhah* (ŚvetU and ŚirasU * *tiṣṭhati samcukocāntakāle*) VS ŚvetU ŚirasU Dhātup has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected *ayasmayam vicrtā* (KS *viśrtā*, v 1 °*drtā*) *bandham etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayasmayān v crtā bandhapāśān* AV The original *vicrtā* means 'loosen thou' KS seems felt as 2 plur from *vi-śr* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural

viśvasya devī mṛcayasya (ŚŚ *mṛśa*°) *janmanah* AB AŚ ŚŚ *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable', perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious' ŚŚ's *mṛś*° may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form

prthivyāḥ samprcah (MS MŚ °*cas*, VS ŚB *samsprśas*) *pāhī* VS TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Also *divah samsprśas* (MS *samprcas*) *pāhī* VS MS ŚB The two words are synonyms

śvitro (MS *citro*) *rakṣitā* AV MS TS ApMB Also *svitra* (MS *citra*) *ādityānām* VS MS Again the two words are synonyms Some AV mss have *citro* in the first variant, Ppp ms *śattro*, Barret JAOS 32 370 em *svitro*

yat kṣurena marcayatā (MG *varlayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supeśasā*) AV AG PG HG ApMB MG

agre (TB *agne*, Poona ed *agre*) *yajñasya cetatah* (RV *śocatah*) RV KS TB

ūrdhvacatah (MS. KS °*sṛlah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS text †*sna*°, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm, which glosses *sevadhvam*, ŚB correctly *sra*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Assimilation to *śrayadhvam* in MS KS

mṛśase (SV *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV SV The change from (*pari-*) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *pavase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sātaye* RV 9 56 3

chlilīpu chlilīṣate ŚŚ *āślilīpu ślilīṣate* AV (mss, R-Wh em *āślīślīkṣum ślīślīṣate*) Unknown words

tanūpāś (TB Conc *tanūpāc*, Poona ed text and comm †*tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS KS TB The TB (which obviously reads *tanū-*

napūc) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

6 Miscellaneous

§196 Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *l*§ and *b*§
mahnā jinoṣi (MS *hinoṣi*) *mahinā* RV TS MS KS ApMB N. Synonymous rime-words

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*hamṣo*, *haviṣā*) *vrñānah* (etc.), see §854

dwyah kośah samukṣatah MS *davyah kośah* (AV *devakośah*) *samubjatah* AV TS KS. The MS reading is a riming corruption.

CHAPTER VI LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197 The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects, and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned, and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*.

p (once, *ph*) and *v*

§198 Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original, they are listed in the following

yas tāni (TA MahānU *tad*) *veda sa pituh* (AV *sa pituṣ*, most mss *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* AV VS TA MahānU *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ* (TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV AV TA N 'He shall be Savitar's father' is an absurd but persistent mouting over of 'he shall be the father's father', cf Bergaigne 2 104, 108

abhiśaster avasparat (SV *avasvarat*) RV SV 'Fight away' 'sound away', in either case 'protect' (SV comm *pālayatu*) But *ava-span*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense, see e.g. RV 10 39 6, 8 66 14

ṛtasya goptrī tapasah paraspī (SMB *°vī*, MG *tarutrī*) SMB ApMB MG *paraspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)' *parasvī* (also in some mss of ApMB) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm *utkṛṣṭadhanarūpā*)

spārḥā (TB *svāruḥā*) *yasya sṛiyo dṛṣe* RV KS TB And

spārḥo (TB *svāruho*) *deva nyutvatā* RV SV VS TB The TB reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical. Comm., wobbly, once *suṣṭhu ratham ārūdhah*, once *svasmād eva prarūdhah*

hiranyaparna śakune PG *hiranyavarnah sakunah* MU *hiranyapakṣah śakunih* HG Practically synonyms Contrast *darbhah stṛṇīla* etc under §200

jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt AV *jāmam utvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA The AV original 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven' Poona ed of TA reads *jāmu mutvā mā vivitsi lokāt* (v 1 *lokān*)

Its comm regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapsyasi*) But neither reading of TA really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v* *nākro makarah kulīpayas* (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *puḷīkayas*, KSA *puḷī-rayas*) te 'kūpārasya (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*, certainly nightly *kūvāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean' *nāpa vr̥ñjāte na gamāto antam* AV *nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam* TB *ava-prj* is the original, it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving Note *apa* *ava* also (§201) *yatrāspṛkṣat* (HG *yatrā vṛkṣas*) *tanuam* (AV *tanvo*, HG *tanuwa*) *yatra vāsah* (AV *yac ca vāsasah*) AV ApMB HG 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yadī vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam* *yamasya dūtas ce vāg vidhāvati* MS *yamasya dūtn śvapād vidhāvati* TA See §145 *yunajmī tīro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *tīro vṛtah sūryah savah*, or *save*) TS ApŚ MS See §57 *ajāsrah paśupā vājapastyah* (TB 'vastyah') RV MS TB Comm on TB, *vastyan grham* (= *pastyam*, see *RVRep* 58) This, and the lexical statements that *vastya* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastya*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped *yat paśur* (Kauś *yad vasū*) *māyum akṛta* (Kauś *akṛata*) TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG Kauś A synonym is substituted in Kauś *sarpadevajanebhyah* (AŚ *sarva*?) *svāhā* AŚ AG Tho the context is different, AŚ looks suspiciously like a lect fac *śatūpāsthādya* (read, °{hā gha, with both Poona edd) *vṛā pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣṭād dhavīṣā vārnah* MS See §86 *ghṛtam duhānā vṛvatah prapitāh* (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPpp *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS TB ApMB Barretj JAOS 35 88, would keep *pravīnāh*, but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption

§199 The one case of *ph v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of implement

iṣām kṛgalyam śavam MS *iṣām kṛgalyam śapham* ApŚ Tho corrupt in *śavam*, MS seems to be correct in *kṛgalyam* (cf *kṛgala*, RV), for which ApŚ has a Prakritic ἀπ λεγ

- §200 The *v* reading seems to be original in the following
vr̥ṣṭm (SV * *pr̥*) *dwah par̥sava* RV SV (bis) *vr̥ṣṭm* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates, perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *pr̥s*, §680) may have infected the word
mahyam dattvā vṛjata (TAA *prajātum*) *brahmalokam* AV TAA The TAA reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption Comm takes it for *prajālam* by Vedic license!
yathāpah pravatā yanti TA TU Kauś *yathā yanti prapadah* SMB See §60
iheha vah svatavasah (TA *svatapasah*) RV MS KS TA AŚ Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatavas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts
tve kratum api vr̥ñjanti viśve (AV *api pr̥ñcanti bhūri*) RV AV SV VS AA ApŚ MŚ See §57
divyam suparnam vāyasam (AV *payasam*, KS VS TS * ŚB *vayasā*, MS TS * *vayasam*) *brhantam* RV AV VS TS (bis) MS ŚB AŚ Suparn There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky', but Ppp agrees on *payasam* (twice) Once the AV comm has the hardihood to say that *payasam* is for *va*° by Vedic license
payasvan māmakam vacah (AV * *payah*) RV AV (bis) KS In AV assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily But TS TB MŚ have a further alteration *payaśvad vīrudhām payah*
amba nṣpara (TS ApŚ *nṣvara*, KS KapŚ *nṣvara*, MS *nṣmara* p p *nih smara*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The majority (in which we count MS with *m*) points to *v* rather than *p*, but the word is obscure in all forms
suvarnapakṣaya (MahānU *suparna*°) *dhīmahi* TA MahānU 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original, see under next
darbhah śr̥ṇūta haritah suparnah (KS †*suvarnah*) KS MŚ *hotṛśad-anam haritam hiranyayam* AV *hotṛśadanā haritah suvarnāh* TB ApŚ *suvarna-* is certainly original, as AV shows, cf preceding, and, for the reverse change, *hiranyaparna śakune* etc, §198
parivādam parikṣavam (msc mostly *parichavam*) AV Nakṣ *parivādam parikṣapam* ApMB The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap Whitney The ApMB can hardly be anything but a corruption, one ms has *°vam*
tvam rājāsi pradivah (VS VSK *pratīpat*) *sulānām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS N See §64
tam ajarebhir vr̥ṣabhis tava (ApŚ *tapa*) *svatih* RV KS ApŚ Followed by *tapā tapīṣṭha tapasā tapasvān* RV KS, *tapa tapasva tapasā tapīṣṭha*

ApŚ, which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this pāda Caland understands *tapa* as a voc, 'O Brennender'
sa bhūmim viśvato (ArS *sarvato*) *vr̥tvā* (VS *sarvata spr̥tvā*) RV AV ArS
 VS TA Comm on VS *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from
vr̥tvā 'encompassing'

anupahvad (ApMB *anu po 'hva*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*)
 HG ApMB In ApMB *po* intends *vo* (pronoun), HG is corrupt
 and obscure See §732 There is no real variant here, both forms
 having *p*

āñjavana sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *spr̥śantām*, Ppp [acc to Roth]
viśanta, TA *m̐śantām*) RV AV TA

jakṣvānsah papivānsas ca viśve VS etc, the text of VS is misprinted
 as *papivānsas*, corrected, p XXII]

§201 In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants
 between the prepositions *apa* and *ava* So close are they in meaning
 that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so
 far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form
 among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general
nāpa vr̥ñjāte (*nāvap̐r̥jyāte*) see §198

ava (AV *apa*) *tasya balam tira* RV AV Note that RV has only *ava-tr*,
 never *apa-tr*

apa (TA ApŚ † *ava*) *bādhatām durtām viśvā* MS TA ApŚ Both
 familiar

dviśantam me 'vabādhasva (Poona ed °*dhāsa*, but v 1 and comm °*sa*)
 TA *dviśantam apa bādhasva* SMB If the Poona ed text is
 right, this should be added to VV I §152

dhātā samudro apa (AG °*va*) *hantu pāpam* AG PG

yat tatraino apa tat suvām AV *yad atraino ava tat suvām* TA

idam aham amuṣyāmnuṣyāyanasya pāpmānam ava (ApMB *apa*) *gūhām*
 HG ApMB

yad avām̐rkṣac (ApŚ *apā°*) *chakunih* KS ApŚ MŚ

yenāpām̐rṣatam (SMB v 1 °*m̐rṣatam*) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāvam̐rṣa-*
tām surām PG

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta padā jahī* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah*
śvetepad āgahī MG

ābhur anyo 'pa (ApMB °*va*) *padyatām* ApŚ HG ApMB *mātur anyo*
 °*va padyata* ŚG

sarvān ava yajāmahe KS † TB TA ApŚ *sarvān apa yajāmasi* Kauś
ava-yaj is more archaic

indur indum avāgāt (KS *avāgan*, MŚ *upāgāt*, v 1 *apāgāt*) KS PB TB
 ŚŚ KS ApŚ MŚ

ava dīkṣām aṣṛkṣata (ApMB *adāstha*) *svāhā* AV ApMB *iyam apa*
(v 1 *ava*) *dīkṣām ayaṣṭa* SMB

apa kṣudham nudatām arātīm TB *ava sedim tṛṣṇām kṣudham jahī*
Kauś

§202 To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended, and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB in the first case

apāpāco (TB *vāco*) *abhūbhūte nudasva* RV AV AB GB TB But

Poonā ed of TB text and comm *apāpāco*, clearly correctly
āyus ca prāyus ca prāñ cāpāñ (ApŚ *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS ApŚ

p and *m*

§203 The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam*. A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them

§204 The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV texts, *tam* in Tait texts

tapasas (TB *tamasas*) *tan mahinājayatānkam* RV TB

mā tamo (AŚ *tapo*) *mā yajñas tamat* (AŚ *tapat*), followed by

mā yajamānas tamat (AŚ *yajñapatat tapat*) TB ApŚ AŚ

§205 The rest are sporadic

kṣumāsī VS *kṣupāsī* VSK An arrow is addressed obscurely. Comm on VS 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup root *kṣmā*(2), perhaps confused with *kṣubh*— Is VSK influenced partly by *kṣip*?

amba nṣpara (*nṣmara*, etc), see §200

yuktās tiso vimrjah *yunajmi tiso viprcāh* (*vimrjah*), see §57

namo 'gnaye prthivakṣite (ChU MU *prthivī*?) *lokasṛte* (MU *sṁrte*, ChU *ksite*) TS KSA ApŚ ChU MU And similarly *namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite*, *nama ādityāya* (*namah sūryāya*, *nama ādityebhyas*), each time with MU alone reading *lokasṛte*. All in the same passage. There is no doubt that *lokasṛte* is original, Deussen renders MU 'Weltgewährer', seemingly having *sṛte* in mind

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam visantu (AV *sprśantām*, Ppp [Roth] *visanta*, TA *mṛsantām*) RV AV TA

apāma edhi mī mṛthā na indra SMB *amā na edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ *†ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG See §78

visvā sprdho (AV *mṛdho*) *abhimātir jayema* RV AV TA

b and *v*

§206 This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*, see Wackernagel I §161. The mss are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vīra*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b*. On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not occasionally written *v* (*pwāmī*, for instance, for *pibāmī*). This elusive theme (cf Grassmann, *KZ* 12. 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

§207 Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are

carmevāvādhus (TB °*bādhus*) *tamo apsv antah* RV MS KS TB ApŚ

The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away'. TB understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādh* 'they have overcome'. Poona ed of TB has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm. even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināśitavantaḥ*.

devīm aham nṛṛtīm bādhamānah (TS *vandamānah*) TS KS ApŚ 'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS, but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS *bibhṛato*) *jāta-vedāḥ* AV KS *yatra-yatra jāta-vedāḥ sambabhūtha* (TB *sambabhūva*, but Poona ed text and comm °*tha*) TB ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV (19.3.1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*, mss almost all *bibhṛto* or *bibhṛato*, tho the comm. reads *vi-* and so both editions. All three mss of KS *bi-* (vv ll *bibhṛto* and *bibhyato*). In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *vi-bhṛto* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf next.

atandrāso yuvalayo vibhṛtram (TB Conc *vibhartram*, Poona ed text and comm *bibh°*) RV TB. Cf preceding, here we have adjective epithets of Agni (TB comm *poṣatam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhṛ*).

sakhāyau saptapadāu abhūva (ApMB °*padā babhūva*) ApMB HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB mss is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, *Introd*, xvi

usrā (MŚ *usrāv*) *etam dhūrvāhau* (KS *dhūrbādāhā*) VSK KS MŚ

Others, §122

yāv (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † *°tho*, AV *visatho*) *ya ca rakṣatah* (AV KS *°thah*) AV TS MS KS

[*tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ text, *balam*) *sahah* AA ŚŚ *tuje janā* (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArS This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balam* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*.

Original *v*

§209. We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original. There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vadh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādḥ* (and perhaps of *bandh*). In several variants, VS texts (particularly VSK) seem to favor *badh*, but contrary instances occur.

divṣato badho (MŚ *vadhō*) 'st VS KŚ MŚ

mā tvā samudra ud vadhīn (VSK *badhīn*) *mā suparnah* VS TS MS KS
SB

twayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MS
KS SB

mā me dīkṣām mā tapo nīr vadhiṣṭa (KŚ *ba°*) TS KŚ MŚ

abadhiṣṭma rakṣo 'badhiṣṭmāmum asau hatah' (VSK *rakṣo* 'muṣṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣṭma) VS VSK ŚB KŚ *avadhiṣṭma rakṣah*
TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto (SMB ŚvetU °mīno, Jorgensen °mīto for SMB) *vadhīh* (TAA SMB *badhīh*, but Poona ed of TAA and Jorgensen's of SMB both *va*°) RV TS MS KS TAA ŚvetU SMB *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno vadhīh* VS

avartyaḥ badhāyopamanthitāram (TB *avartyaḥ ṭvadhā*°) VS TB (so Poona ed)

nātārīd (TB °rīr) *asya samṛtim vadhānām* (TB *ba*°, but Poona ed *va*°) RV TB

ayanam mā vṛvadhīr (TAA *vība*°, but Poona ed text and comm *vīva*°) *vikramasva* TA TAA

Cf also the following, in which MS is surely corrupt (see §260). Apparently MS MŚ understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA has a form of *vṛdh*

mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ

§210 Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength'?). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV, the word is probably connected with root *vṛ* *indro valam* (MS *balam*) *īkṣītāram dughānām* RV AV MS *tvam valasya* (AŚ *balasya*) *gomatah* RV 11 5, SV AŚ *bībheda valam* (AV AŚ *balam* but many AV mss *valam*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV *sasāhe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

ud valasyābhīnat (but all mss °nas, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ *ud balasyābhī nas* (read *balasyābhīnas*) *tvacam* MŚ The form *abhīnas* is for *abhīnat*, 2d person imperf, with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s*. This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262, but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhīnas*.

yo gā udājad apa (MS *apī*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

indro yad abhinad valam (GB *balam*, but Guastira *valam* with most of his mss) RV AV SV AB GB

sa bībheda balam (VS and Poona ed of TB *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*) VS MS KS TB

§211 There is no doubt that the words for fat, *pīvas* etc, have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit. Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity.

pīvo vṛkka udārathīh RV KS *pībasphākam udārathīm* AV In AV Shankar Pandit prints *pībasphākam* (comm *pīvasphākam*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss Ppp has *pīvasākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 191, em *pīvaspākam*) *udāhṛtam* Cf Whitney on AV 4 7 3, 3 17 3, and Index Verborum of AV under *pīb°* and *pīv°*

prapharvyam ca pīvarim VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh *pībarim ca prapharvyam* AV (comm *pīv°*, Ppp according to Roth reads like VS etc except *prapharvyām*)

neva mānse na pīvasi AV *nawa mānsena pīvari* PG —SPP with some mss and comm reads *pīvasi* in AV, so also Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 205) PG, tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc sing fem of *pīvan*)

§212 In the root *vṛh* or *bṛh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain. It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *bṛh* 'be great' etc., has helped the variation in spelling (cf §215). Later, *bṛh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them *vṛh* is the real reading of all texts, Weber erroneously prints *bṛh*- in TS against nearly all his mss.

ādityās tvā pra bṛhantu (most mss *vṛh°*) TS *visvebhyas tvā devebhyah pra vṛhāmi* KS *ādityebhyas tvā pra vṛhāmi* MS Add to VV I §312

vasavas tvā pra vṛhantu (TS ed *bṛh°*, most mss *vṛh°*) *gāyatrena chandasā* TS ApŚ

§213 There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*) *bandhura*, RV always spells the word with *v*. Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, *RVRep* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole' *trivandhuro* (TB *triban°*, Poona ed *trwan°*, comm *triban°*) *manasā yātu yuktah* RV TB (in Conc by error, TS) MS

ā yāhy arvāñ upa vandhureṣṭhāh (GB AA *ban°*, but Gaastra and Keith in both *van°*) RV AB KB GB AA ŚŚ

pra nūnam pūrnavandhura (VS ŚB LŚ *°ban°*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB, LŚ

ratham hiranyavandhuram (TA *sahasaban°*, but Poona ed text and comm *°van°*, with *v* l *°ban°*) RV 1A

trivandhurena (KS *triban°*) *trvṛtā rathena* RV KS

§214 In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original
vahiṣṭhebhur (MS *ba*°) *viharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm and Poona ed
 text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ The word can only
 mean 'swiftest', root *vaḥ*

etad brahmann upavalkhāmasi (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabalkhāmahe*) *tvā* VS
 AŚ ŚŚ LŚ The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in
 LŚ It is perhaps a form of *vrh*, §212

capyam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyur bhiṣaḥ asya vālah* (KS
vārah, TB *bālah*, Poona ed *vālah*) VS MS KS TB The word
 means 'sieve' and is regularly *vāla*, or in the older language *vāra*
 The converse of this in the variant *kūrṅkuro bālabandhanah* (*vāla*°),
 where properly *bāla* 'child', §215

Original *b*

§215 In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original
 The VS texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their
 seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209) First three cases
 in which etymology proves *b* the older

savitṛprasūtā bṛhaspataye (PB LŚ *†*vrh*°) *stuta* GB PB Vait LŚ
 Twice in LŚ, once printed *vr*° and once *br*°, but comm both times
vr° which must be correct (since quoted from PB which has *vr*°) —
 On the other root *vrh*, 'tear', see §212

kṛṅkuro bālabandhanah (ApMB *vāla*°) PG ApMB Both must intend
bāla, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat* 'spoil' (treat
 as a child)

ya dbabhūva (PB *āva*°) *bhuvanāni vīsvā* (PB *vīsvāh*°, comm *vīsvāni*)
 VS JB PB ŚŚ Vait Tho PB comm repeats the incredible
āvababhūva, it is doubtless corrupt

§216 In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the ety-
 mologies of the words are unknown

yad dhastābhyām cakṛma (MS TB TA *calara*) *kṛbhiṣāni* (TA *kṛb*°, but
 Poona ed *kṛb*°) AV MS TB TA

vīsvasmād devakṛbhiṣāt AV MS *sarvasmād devakṛbhiṣāt* (VS °*kṛb*°, LŚ
eva kṛb°) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ

kṛte yonau (KS *kṛto yonir*) *vapateha biyam* (VS ŚB *vīyam*) RV AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB

basto (VS *vasto*) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

dhamantī bhakuram (JB *vā*°) *dṛtum* RV JB

Original *b* or *v* uncertain

§217 In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v*. The VS texts again seem to favor *v*. First, three cases of *padbīṣa* or '*vīṣa* 'fetter' It is always spelled with *b* in RV, which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161), cf Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form **vinā*, *JAOS* 51 170

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīṣāt* (VS **vīṣāt*, LŚ † *ṣadvinīṣāt*) RV
AV VS LŚ ApŚ

samdānam arvantam padbīṣam (VS MS **vīṣam*) RV VS TS MS KSA
yac ca padbīṣam (VS MS **vīṣam*) *arvatah* RV VS TS MS KSA Here
the sole ms of KS has **vīṣam*

§218 Two variants contain the word *bāna* or *vāna* 'arrow', both Rigvedic. In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner
yatra bānāḥ (VS *vānāḥ*) *sāmpatanti* RV SV VS TS AG
vīśalyo vānavān (TS *bā°*, MS *bānavan* KS *bānavān*, NīlarU *vānavān*)
uta VS TS MS KS NīlarU

§219 The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin
māgnadhah punścah kṛtavah kṛbo (VSK *punścah kṛvah kṛavo*)
te prajāpatyāḥ VS VSK *kṛba* appears to be commoner
digbhyo vadabe (KSA *vadave*) TS KSA *badabā* and *vā°* are also found
dr̥vāsi VS *dr̥bāsi* KŚ *drubāsi* VSK An arrow is addressed, said to
mean 'piercing' (root *dṛ*)

kṣatrasyaolbam (VS TB **vam*, but TB Poona ed **bam*) *as* VS TS MS
KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Both common, RV knows only *b* (once)
vīśvarūpā sabalīr (KS *śavaly*) *agniketuḥ* TS KS PG *b* is commoner
marudbhyo gr̥hamedhubhyo (MS **dhebhhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *vaṣ°*, ApŚ
bāṣkān) VS MS ApŚ Rare and obscure
subīrana (HG *suwīrinah*) *sr̥ja-sr̥ja* (ApMB adds *śunala*), and,
śunām agram subīranah (HG *suwīrinah*) HG ApMB Anomalous
name of a dog-demon The ApMB mss are discordant
aulaba (HG **va*) *it tam upā huayatha* (HG **ta*) HG ApMB In same
context as the preceding

bh and *v*

§220 These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhi* and *vi*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhi* forms are prior
visvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (MS **nā vicaṣṭe*) RV MS TB *visvānyo*

bhuvanā vicaṣṭe AV Cf *abhī yo vīśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV, and
abhī vīśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe RV
devānām viṣṭhām (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vi taṣṭhe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ
dīvo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe MŚ
mandrābhībhiṭ (MŚ *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur* TS TB ApŚ MŚ
aṣṭmukho rudhīrenābhyaktah (TA °*avyaktah*) MS TA *abhyaktah*
 'smeared', is clearly original TA comm understands *a-vyaktah*
 (not *ā-*), explaining *īdrggātir itī nīscetum aśakyah*

§221. The participles *ābhṛtam* and *āvṛtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both, secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other, see Whitney on AV 6 125 2

vanaspatibhyah pary ābhṛtam (MS *āvṛtam*) *sahah* RV AV VS TS MS KSA

apām ojmānam pari gobhir āvṛtam (AV *ābhṛtam*), same texts SPP with some mss and comm *āvṛtam* for AV

§222 The rest are sporadic

yamir yamasya bibhṛyād (AV *vivṛhād*) *ajām* RV AV *vivṛhād* is unintelligible, it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense See Whitney's note

ye no dviṣanty anu tām rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanām rabhasva* MŚ
yo no dveṣṭi anu tam ravasva ApŚ See AJP 27 413, Caland on ApŚ 7 17 2

adṛṇhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapī (MŚ *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS ApŚ MŚ
 The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with pebbles' The MŚ assimilates the last word in meaning to *śarkarābhis*, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed pebbles'

bhānsaso (ApMB *dhvansaso*) *vi vṛhām te* RV AV ApMB Cf §176, *dhva*° has a sort of assonance to *bha*°

v and *m*, phonetic changes

§223 This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper JAOS 13 xcvi ff, and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it See Wackernagel I §177 note

§224 The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions, but even these contribute their

mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds
First, with original *v*

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañ*^o) *prthwi mā ni bādhatāh* (TA *vi bādhatāh*)
RV AV TA And

ucchvañcamānā (TA *ucchmañ*^o) *prthwi su tiṣṭhatu* (TA *hi tiṣṭhan*) RV
AV TA (Ta be added to VV I §§116 and 332) See Wackernagel
I §177

suśīmam somasatsaru AV *suśevam somaputsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh Attempts are made to explain
suśīmam as *su-śīman*, or from root *śi* with suffix *ma*, but while some
such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is
essentially phanetic

jyog jivema sarvavīrā vāyam tama MG (all mss) *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā*
vāyam tava RV AV SV MS SMB HG ApMB *mā riṣāmā*
vāyam tava Vait GB AVPP (Barret, JAOS 26 278) The formula
vāyam tava 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced
in MG, was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible
**vāyamtama* (as if superlative to *vayas*)?

ā tvam (GB *ātman*, Gaastra *ā tvam* with *v* 1 *ātman*, LŚ *ā svam*)
indrāya pyāyasva VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AS ŚŚ Vait
LŚ (Probably *ā tvam* is to be read in LŚ, its edition is very untrust-
worthy) The converse corruption in Kauś 65 15, where four of
seven mss read *devā tvā* for *devātmā*

anamivāsa idayā (MS *anamīmāsā idayā*, but p p "vāsah, idayā) *mad-*
antah RV MS TB ApŚ *anamīmāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a
case of assimilation, but it may be only a misprint which escaped
the editor's attention The *pratika* occurs as *anamivāsah* later
in MS 4 12 6 (197 8)

ni dūrasravase vaha (ŚŚ *mahah*, all mss, ed ein *vahah*) AV ŚŚ

§225 On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following,
the *v* forms being often mere corruptions, cf JB *pratītam devebhyo*
juṣtam ha vyavasthāt, where "havyam asthāt is pretty certainly intended
ā galdā dhamaninām MŚ N *ā galgā dhavaninām* ApŚ *dhamanī* 'vein'
is correct, indeed the whole *pāda* is corrupt in ApŚ, see §144
Possibly thought of *dhav(dhu)* = *dhāv* 'run' may have fitted thru
the mind of the ApŚ redactor

agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (TB *dūtyam vāriṣanyah*) RV MS TB
ApŚ Camm an TB *vāriṣanyo mā rīriṣah* (= *māriṣanyah*)

punar dātām (TA *dattāu*) *asum adyeha bhadrām* RV AV TA 'Let
them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life' The

preceding pāda is *tāv asṁabhyam dṛṣaye sūryāya*, perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv*. The comm., at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv act = *dattām* (*dattau prayachātām*)

There is no accent on *dattāv*

sa mā mṛta (MG *vṛtat*, one ms *mṛtam*) AG ApMB MG cf *tam mā mṛdah* ŚG *mṛta* is required 'may he not die' .

sarasvatyā adhi manāv (KS *mānā*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jorgensen *manāv*) *acarkṣuh* (*acarkṣuh*, *carkṛdh*, see §170) KS TB ApŚ *sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṣuh* AV. The mss of SMB which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption

bṛhaspatiḥ tvā (TS KS ApŚ *ṛtis tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS ApŚ *ranvatu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. And

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Here the verb stem *ranva* of the Tait school is based on the adjective *ranva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v*. Comm on TS 1 3 7 1, *ranva ramanīyam kuru*. See VV I p 121

v and *m*, lexical variants

§226 Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic. That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic pādas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep* 553ff. Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole.

§227 Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV itself.

sīdantu manuṣo yathā RV *sīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV SV LŚ. In *RVRep* 60ff the first form is taken to be original. The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior.

manuṣvad (TB *vanuṣvad*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV TB *etat tvātra* (LŚ *etat tām*) *pratimanvāno* (AŚ *ṛvanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ † LŚ *asmīn*) VS AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ 'Thinking in reply' 'offering, presenting in return'.

puruṭrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*) *viśṣṭam jagat* RV AV VS TS MS KSA N 'Take note of' 'acquire', *jagat* is subject in RV etc., object in AV. See VV I p 266.

suvilasya mandāmahe (SV *va*°) RV SV 'Have in mind, purpose' 'desire' *ūrjam bibhrad vasuwanih* (VS LŚ ŚG ApŚ * *vah sumanāh*, ApŚ * *vah suwanih*, ApŚ * *vasumanāh*) *sumedhāh* AV VS KS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG 'Winning wealth' or 'very acquisitive' 'well-minded' or 'minded to wealth' Note three different readings in ApŚ AVPPP. has *vasumatih* Epithet of an owner of a house, all epithets fit well enough, but the readings with *man* may be assimilated in meaning to the following *sumedhāh*

§228 In three cases, somewhat dubious forms in *ūr-* and *ūr-* (*urv-*) interchange, perhaps this is partly a matter of genuine phonetics, and not lexical, cf *ūrmilā*, in the Rāmāyana personified as sister of *Sitā*, probably connected with Vedic *urvarā* 'field of grain', which is associated with *sītā* 'furrow' among the geniuses of the field PG 2 17 9, see JAOS 13 p xcvi

nama ūrvyāya (MS *namā ūrmyāya*) *ca sūrvyāya* (TS MS *sūrmyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS *namas sūrmyāya cormyāya ca* KS Mahidhara on VS derives from *urvi* 'earth' with *ū* by Vedic license, or alternatively from *ūrva* 'submarine fire' Keith adopts the first interpretation Neither is plausible, and *ūrmya* is probably the true form, *ūrvya* possibly merely a phonetic equivalent

utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva (KS MŚ *ūrmim*, VS *arvan*, VSK °*eva śatadhāram arvan*) VS VSK TS KS ApŚ MŚ The combination *ūrmī madhumat* 'honeyed flood' is frequent RV 4 57 2, 58 1, 7 47 2, 96 5 The vocative *ūrva* in TS is, as Keith remarks, probably incorrect (he renders 'ocean') This vocative seems further corrupted into the common adjective *arvan* in VS VSK

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) *svādityā aditye syāmānehasah* (ApŚ *aditye* 'nehasah', ŚŚ *ādityā anehasah*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ ŚB, 'in the vastness of the Rudras', ŚŚ, 'in the favor of the Rudras' ApŚ seems secondarily to blend the forms of the other two, *ūrmyā* 'night' (RV) gives no chance for intelligent interpretation

§229 In two variations of the roots *mand* 'rejoice' and *vand* 'extol', each is once prior

mandadvīrāyendave RV *vandadvīrāyendave* SV

maghavan vandīṣimahi (TS MS KS LŚ *mand*°) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

§230 The noun *medhā* (*medhas*) 'hymn' and its derivative adjective *medhya*, vary with *vedhā* (*vedhas*) 'pious', or with *vedya* 'well-known' *vedhām aśāsata* (SV *medhām āś*°) *śriye* RV SV †

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV VS TS MS *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB ApŚ MŚ *medhyāya*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ *śrutakarnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV KS ApŚ

§231. Somewhat similarly, the word *medin* 'ally' is replaced by a slovenly *vedin*, if Scheftelowitz's ms of RVKh is to be trusted (note also the corruption *krwo* for *krmo* in the ms of AVPpp)

asya (KS and RVKh Scheftelowitz, *zha*) *kurmo* (RVKh *kulmo*, Scheft em *kurmo*, KS *krmo*, AVPpp ms *krwo*, for *krmo*) *harwo mednam* (RVKh Scheft *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh TS KS TB AVPpp (Barret, JAOS 37 263f) *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medi* AV Cf §263

§232 The words *mayas* and *vayas*, practically synonyms, exchange in two associated formulas

hayo dātra edhi vayo (VSK † ŚŚ *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahātre* (ŚŚ °grhate) VS VSK † ŚB ŚŚ And, in same passage

prāno dātra edhi vayo (VSK ŚŚ *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahātre* (ŚŚ °grhate) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ In two accompanying formulas all texts read *mayo*, VS ŚB vary the expression with *vayo*

§233 In two cases the syllables *sama* are changed to *sava* on faint lexical suggestions issuing from the root *su* in the context
sahasrasamam prasutena yantah PB TB ApŚ *sahasrasavaprasavena yantah* MŚ

tasmā u adya samanā (SV *savane*) *sutam bhara* RV AV SV

§234 The rest are sporadic

śrīnānā apsu mṛṇyata (SV *vr̥ṇyate*) RV SV Subject is *śomāh* 'are purified in the waters' It is hard to see other than phonetic reasons for the SV alteration of this pāda, which occurs twice in RV Possibly, however, SV means 'are worked, operated', assimilating the idea to the sphere of the *barhis*, cf Bloomfield, JAOS 35 273ff

achā ma (SV Svidh *va*) *indram malayah svarvidah* (SV *svaryuvah*) RV AV SV GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait Svidh Change of person as in *indro vah* (AV *me*) *sarma yachatu* RV AV SV VS TS, or in the persons of the verb, VV I §§290, 307 For others of this sort see our future volume on Pronouns

amba nīpara (*nīvara*, *nīpara*, *nīmara*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ, sec §200

rdhag ayā (TS MS KS *ayād*) *rdhag utāsamīṣṭhāh* (MS KS °ṣṭa) VS TS MS KS ŚB N *dhruvam ayā* (AV *ayo*) *dhruvam utāsamīṣṭhāh* (AV *utā śavīṣṭha*) RV AV The AV is clearly a phonetic variant or corruption (comm and Ppp *utāsamīṣṭhāh*) See §86

yat kṣurena marcayatā (MG *varlayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG PG ApMB HG *supēśasā*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG 'Injuring' 'moving' In AVPPP we find *varcayata*, a sort of *vox media*, perhaps with thought of *varcas*, but really of course corrupt

yuklās tīrro vimṛjah *yunapm tīro viprah* (*vurrah*) , see §57

§235 In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter, the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge

ā raśmīn (RV *raśmim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvan* (RV TB *svaśvah*) RV VS ŚB TB Tho TB is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others, comm *raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya mīrīkuru*

drapsas cashanda prthwīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *prthwī* in all later texts against RV

kauberakā viśvavāsah HG *mīśravāsasah kauberakāh* ApMB (probably original)

avimuktacakra (v l °rā) *āsīran* PG *vīrtlacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB *sa me mukham pra markṣyate* (ApMB *vekṣyati*) PG ApMB 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth' Probably PG is original

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *spr̥santām*, TA *m̥santām*) RV AV TA — PPP (Roth) *viśanta*

adharo mad asau vadāt svāha ApMB *adharo vad asau vadā svāhā* HG † *adhō vadādharo vada* HG ApMB certainly original, the first form of HG unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mud*

vṛtrasyasi (KS *mītra*°) *kanīnika* (VS ŚB °*nakah*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*nakāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ Secondary change in KS

anu tvā harino vṛṣā (ApŚ *mṛgah*) AV ApŚ

aśādhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB *nādhuse*) RV TB N

mitro (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* RV VS TS MS TA

pra hānsāsas tṛpalam manyum (SV °*lā vagnum*) *acha* RV SV

kalpantam te (TA * *me*) *dīśah sarvāh* (TA * *śagmāh*) VS ŚB TA (both)

§236 Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense

ulem anamnamuh TS MS AB AŚ ApŚ MŚ *uleva namnamuh* KB
ŚB ŚŚ KŚ

athem ava sya (AV *athemam asyā*) *vara ā prthivyā* AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ
The original is *ava sya* 'set free', AV secondarily brings in the
familiar notion of *iyam prthivī* (in genitive form)

tuvi-śvanasam (TS JB *tuviṣ-manasam*) *suyajam ghṛtaśrīyam* RV TS
JB ŚB MŚ The RV supports its reading by numerous instances
of *tuvi-śvan* (-i, -as), whereas *tuviṣ-* does not occur in compounds
viśvavandam (AV °*vido*) *vācam anśvam-ivām* (AV *aviśva-vinnām*) RV
AV The AV change is due to preceding *viśva-vido*, see Edgerton,
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manmā dīdhyānā utā nah sakhāyā MS *anvādīdhyāthām iha nah sakhāyā*
TB See the context, quoted VV I p. 163, note that the preceding
pāda ends in *m*

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV KS °*tyā*, TS °*ūr*, MS °*ūr*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV
°*nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iyānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ The sūtra
texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense
'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'

bharatam uddharem anuṣiṇca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB ApŚ MŚ
The TB comm. says that *im* (in *uddhara-im*) is for *imam chāndaso*
'yam mavarnalopah'. The corrupt MŚ reading then seems to
have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*

vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām AV *pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB
See §359

v and *m* in inflectional endings

§237 Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange
between acc. sing. and nom.-acc. dual, between nom.-acc. dual and gen-
plur., between 1st person dual and plural, and so on. Similar cases
occur among corruptions of the mss., thus in Kauś. 60. 19 two mss.
read *manthantām* for *manthantāv*, and in Kauś. 71. 1 all mss. *anśo rājā*
vibhajatiām agnī, where the ed. emends *imām* to *imāv*.

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhī*
roha vanśa (MG *vansah*) AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś. Roth
quotes Ppp. as *sthūnā dhī*.

aya(h)sthūnam (TS °*nāv*) *uditā* (MS TS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS
MS KS For the VS ŚB form see §188.

putrah pitārāv (AV °*ram*) *avṛṇita pūṣā* RV AV The original dual
refers to the Aśvins, AV has a stupid simplification.

yena strīyam (PG *śrīyam*, ŚŚ *strīyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *akuru-*
tam) ŚŚ PG SMB GG The ŚŚ is secondary and poor.

apsarasāṁ anu dattām rnam yat (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA *apsarasām anudattāṇṛnāni* MS (p p *anu, dattāni, ṛnāni*) MS. is hopeless, see VV I p 282

idam vatsyāvah (AG *vatsyāmo bhoh*) AG HG See VV I p 249, others on the same page and on pp 263, 276

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇvojasam (SV *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV SV 'Having terrible strength' 'terrible in strength'

v and *m* in noun-suffixes

§238 On this subject cf Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant*, Baltimore, 1910 The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular, otherwise the *m* form In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels, cf Sturtevant, *AJP* 50 360ff, *TAPA* 60 33ff The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels, and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant* Variants occur in the readings of individual mss, thus at AV 19 42 3 *sutrāmne* for *sutrāṇne*, and at Kauś 89 I four out of seven miss *manvabhik* for *manmabhik* We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation

§239 We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*, once, *varī*)

udyan nakṣatram arcwat (TB °*mat*) RV SV TB Note that RV also knows *arcimat*

tapur yayastu carur agnīvān (AV KS °*mān*) *va* RV AV KS N *agnīvān* is read by AVPPP, *agnimant* not in RV This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory

pūṣā jñātīmān ŚG *pūṣā jātvīn* (read *jñātī*°) Kauś
trītyaśya savanaśya ṛbhūmato (ApŚ °*syarbhū*°) *bṛhaspatiwato* (KŚ °*mato*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The majority show *vat* after *i*

indram ādityavantam vājavantam bṛhaspatimantam (AŚ °*vantam*)
viśvadevyāvantam āvaha KB AŚ ŚŚ Here only AŚ has *vant*,

and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmana text has *mant*, *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *vant*. But cf. next

tāsv adhvaryo (ŚŚ °*yav*) *vājavate bṛhaspativāte* (ŚŚ °*male*) *viśvadevyāvate* AB AŚ ŚŚ Here again we might suggest the surrounding *vant* forms as source of *bṛhaspati-vate*, but this time the older Brāhmana text reads *-vate*. Note that AŚ belongs to the school of AB, and ŚŚ to that of KB (cf. prec), the two schools seem to have affected different forms

puṣpavatīh (TS V1Dh *puṣpā*) *prasūvarīh* (AV KS °*sūmatīh*, TS °*sūvatīh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS V1Dh The original form has suffixal *varī*, fem. of *van*, according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric. It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS by the still irregular *vatī*, which looks like a blend of the other two

apām napād kakudmān (MS *kakubhvān*) TS MS KS *devīr āpo kakunmān* VS VSK ŚB See §178

hiranyavad annavad dhehī (ApŚ [read] *annamad dhehī*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ See AJP 27 415

tveṣam cakṣur dadhre codayanvatī (RV °*matī*) RV TB ApŚ Psychologically, tho. not formally, this variant belongs here, *codayan-matī* in RV is a compound with the noun *matī* 'they made (thee, Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *v* form required after an *a*-vowel. TB comm., accordingly, *vidhāyakavākyayukte (karmanī)*

§240 The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms *nṛśadvā* (SV °*mā*) *śīdad apām upasthe* (SV *apām vuvarte*) RV SV *sadman* (also RV) is in the mind of SV

kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne (TB °*mne*) RV TB N The otherwise unquoted form of TB plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman svadhāvan*)

ādityānām patvān (PB °*mān*) *ihi* (KSA † *ehi*) VS TS MS KSA PB ŚB TB MŚ ApMB Both forms are R̥gvedic, cf. next

āyoh patmane svāhā KS *āyoṣ patwane svāhā* ApŚ Cf. prec

kavīn prchāmi vidmane (AV *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV AV Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV

mitajñavo varimann (TB °*vann*, but Poona ed. *mitajmavo varimann*) ā *prthivyāh* RV MS TB *varvan* is not recorded, unless here

varṣmā (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, KS *drāghvā*, MS *drāghmā*, KapS *drāghīmā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS The curious TS form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*

[*āpataye tvā paripataye grhnāmi*] *tanūnaptre* (KS adds *śakmane*) *śak-varāya śakvana* (KS *śakmann*) *ojṣṭhāya* VS KS ŚB *tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā* *ojṣṭhāya* MS *tanū² śakvarāya śakmann* *ojṣṭhāya* VSK In KS the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'

abhukhyā bhāsā brhatā suśukvanāh RV *dr̥śe* (MS *dr̥śā*) *ca bhāsā brhatā suśukvanāh* (KS **vabhīh*, MS *suśikmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS form owes its *ī* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śukvan* 'able' (RV), the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel

avavyayann asitam deva vasma (TB ApŚ *vasvāh*) RV MS KS TB ApŚ Comm on TB explains *vasvāh* as acc sing of an agent noun, *vāsayitram āchādakam* The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvāh* as voc of a stem *vasvan* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB must be deleted

prathamāya januṣe bhuvaneṣṭhāh (ŚŚ *bhūma neṣṭhāh*, AŚ ed *bhūmanēṣṭhāh*) AV AS ŚŚ Ppp has *bhūm^o* The ŚŚ reading makes good sense 'thou shalt lead the world' AVŚ has *bhuvane-ṣṭhāh*

m and *b*

§241 The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v* A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *brhat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical, see, provisionally, the Conc under these words

parā dehi sāmulyam (ApMB *sābalyam*) RV AV ApMB The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *sāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain' Apparently ApMB is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted' See §607

asambādham badhyato (many AV mss *ma^o*) *mānavānām* (Ppp **veṣu*) AV Kauś *asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS Sense and text tradition require *madhyato* The form *ba^o* is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bādham* (so Whitney), it is in any case a corruption This is immediately followed by *yasyā udvataḥ pravataḥ samam bahu* (MS *mahat*) AV MS Synonyms, cf *brhat mahat*, referred to above But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments

audamṛdā yavyudhah KS *ailabṛdā* (MS °mṛdā, KapS *ilamṛdā*) *āyuryudhah* (TS *yavyudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure, Mahīdhara on VS desperately, 'bringers of food' (*bhṛtah*)
anuṣṭub (°tum) *mitrasya*, see §412

m and *bh*

§242 The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical

indra ukthebhīr mandīṣṭhah (ŚŚ *bhand*°) SV ŚŚ Cf next, the roots are quasi-synonyms

dwās (*dwah*) *prṣṭham* (PB *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*°) *suman-mabhih* RV PB TA ApŚ Cf prec

tāsām īśāno bhagavah (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS Practically synonyms

sarvam tam (AV *sarvān ni*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tām*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS ŚB *masmasā*, MS *†mṛsmṛsā*, v l *mṛsmṛsā*, VS *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV *-karam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The onomatopoeic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhasmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS

savitā bhṛtyām (KS *ms † manyām*) TS KS, von Schroeder emends to *bhṛtyām*

aciṣyāma (p p *amī*, for *abhi syāma*) *vṛjane visva ūti* MS *abhi syāma vṛjane sarvaṇīrāh* RV KS Corruption if not misprint

yuktās tivo vimṛjah (*vbhṛjah*) , and others, see §57

CHAPTER VII INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243 Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *d* which we add at the end of the chapter.

y and *r*

§244 Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption.

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ °*yav*) *ṛnayā na iyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KS AB ApŚ *dviṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV. Roots *īr* and *ī* (intensive), both 'go'.

śāndikera (PG *śaundikeya*) *ulūkhalah* PG HG *śānderathas śāndikera ulūkhalah* ApMB. Fanciful names of demons.

vāyosāntṛa (MS *vāyusavitr̥bhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA.

samvatsarāya paryāyṇīm (TB *paryāṇīm*) VS TB. Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning.

ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā (ApMB *kāmān*) *ayansata* (AV *aransata*) RV AV ApMB *ni-yam* 'settle', and *ni-ram* 'rest'.

prānasya vidvān samare na dhīrah TS MS *yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīrah* AV. Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'juncture'.

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu acāriṣam* RV VS MS KS ŚB AŚ LŚ MŚ ApMB MG *apo anu acāriṣam* (JB *īacāriṣam*) TS TB JB ApŚ.

apo divyā acāryiṣam AV *anu-car* 'follow after' *cāy* 'fear, revere' *vasūni cārur* (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB ApMB HG.

Stonner on SMB understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady'. Is HG Prakritic for *ca āryo*? (cf Pali *ayyo*). One ms of ApMB also *cāryo*. All very doubtful.

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA *yasyedam oja*

ārujah ŚŚ Obscure in all ŚŚ's *ārujah* looks as if blended of *ā rajo* and *yujah*, whereas AA seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āra(jo-yu) jah* Or ŚŚ may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*, *ojah* vaguely = *ā(y)ujah*

gohya †*upagohyo marūko* (PG *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG SMB See §81

sadā yācann aham girā (SV *gyā*) RV SV N See §134

rudra yat te krayī (*krivī*, *kravī*, *giri-*) see §47

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV AV See §184

andah śubhrāvata (SV *śundhyāvata*) *pathā* RV SV See §173

vijye †*vijye vikṣipet* (p p *vi-kṣepe*) MS *vijre vikṣipe vidhame* MŚ (Read *vikṣipe* in MS) According to Knauer (note on MŚ) these words are vocatives of cow-names No etymology for **vijyā* or **vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow

vanuṣṭhor hṛdayād (AV **udarād*) *adhī* RV AV (both) ApMB

agor arir (SV *nāgo rayir*) *ā ciketa* RV SV Wholly different words and constructions

yena bhūyas carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG *bhūris carā dwam*) AG PG ApMB MG *bhūyaś* and *bhūris* are different suffixal formations from the same root

śukram te (TA **vām*) *anyad yajatam* (TA **raj*°) *te* (TA **vām*) *anyat* RV SV TS MS KS AB KB TA (both) AŚ Svidh N The Poona ed of TA reads *yajatam* for *raj*°, but with v l *raj*°, which the comm also reads, he has a labored and worthless explanation

y and l

§245 Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *lubh* or *lup* on the other The two instances of *yup* *lubh* have been quoted in §113, which see The other is

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV °*ta*, MG *lopayante*) *yad* (AV omits) *eta* (RV *aita*, TA *aima*) RV AV TA MG

y and v

§246 Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements, among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §254.

§247 We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittiriya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622). The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this. The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems). The *y* bridges cuphonicallly the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf. §§338ff), precisely as *e g* in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāy* etc). The *vin* of Tait texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*, *e g* *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in*. It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin*. See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e, Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp. 211ff, Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *ṛgabha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230c.

nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāgrbhyas (TS °*vibhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS

namah sṛkāyrbhyo (TS °*vibhyo*, MS *sṛgāyṛ*°) *ṛghānsadbhyah* VS TS MS KS

namo rudrāyātātāyine (TS °*vine*) VS TS MS KS

pitāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyrbhyaḥ (TB ApŚ °*vibhyaḥ*) *svadhā namah* VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Also with *putrbhyaḥ* and *prapitāmahebhyaḥ*

ūrjāsvatīḥ svadhāyīnīḥ (TS °*vinīḥ*) TS KS

§248 Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal, it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking.

aramgamāya jagmaye (TB ApŚ *jagmave*) RV SV TB Ap, Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown, in Tait texts, for regular *jagmu duvasyave* (TA *duvasvate*) *tvā vālāya svāhā* MS TA Stems *duvasyu* and *duvasvat*, but MS has *v* 1 *duvasvate*

ojasvinī nāmāsi TS ApMB *ojasyā nāmāsi* MS Again Tait texts with *v*

atharya pitum me pāhi VS ŚŚ *atharva pitum me gopāya* (AŚ †*pāhi*) TB AŚ ApŚ *atharva* looks like *v* phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharya* (cf RV *athari*, *atharyu*), epithet of Fire. Note *v* in Tait texts (to be sure also in AŚ)

tapyatvai svāhā TS *tapatyai svāhā* KSA TA Stems *tapyati* (RV) and *tapati*. Poona ed of TA *tapyatvai*, *v* 1 *tapatyai*

ye te agne medayo (KS °*vo*) *ya indavaḥ* TS KS Here TS has the regular *i*-stem *medi*, while KS substitutes an otherwise unknown *medi*

punse putrāya vellatai (ŚB [so, for Conc ŚG] BrhU *vittaye*, MG *kartavai*, KS † and *v* 1 of MG *kartave*) KS ŚB TB BrhU ApŚ ApMB

tvam no devatītaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV N See §61

śrudhi śrūta śraddhūm (AV *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV AV The anomalous RV form is, as it were, explained in AV

vṛsvacarsanīḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān (AV *sahīyān*) RV AV MS Again AV eliminates a rare hieratic form

svā tanūr baladevāya mehi (AV *baladāi na rhi*) RV AV 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV p p *huī*, *a*, *ihi*) 'come to us, giving strength'

namo hradavyāya (KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nivesyāya* (KS *nivesyāya*) *ca* TS KS *namo nivesyāya* (p p *ni*°) *ca hṛdyāya* *ca* MS *namo hṛdayāya* *ca nivesyāya* *ca* VS Anomalous forms seemingly from *hṛd* and *hṛdaya* (but cf §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the lake') Stem *hradavya* quoted Pān 6 1 83, Vārtt 2, Pat

idā manuṣvad (AV mss *manuṣyad*) *iha cetayanti* RV AV VS MS KS TB N The mss reading of AV is supported by Apr 4 65 (comm *manuṣyavat*) and adopted by Whitney. The Apr comm looks in the right direction, it is a blend of *manuṣvat* and *manuṣya-*

namah sūtāyāhantya (TS °*hantya*, MS KS °*hantwāya*) VS TS MS KS *a-hanṭi*, 'not smiting' *a-hantya* = *a-hantva* 'not to be smitten' *arāyo śasmān abhūduhunāyale* TB AŚ ApŚ *arāvā yo no abhū duchunāyale* RV TAA Vait MŚ The stem *a-rāy-a* (*rai*) is *bahuvrīhi*, *a-rā-van* *karmadhāraya* Caland would read *arāvā yo 'smān* in ApŚ, it seems indeed that the syllable *yo* is inherited from the RV form of the *pāda*

vasuranvo (MahānU °*nyo*) *vibhūr asī* TA MahānU *ranya* is from root *ran*, as to *ranva* we must remember the quasi-root *ranv* (see last variant in §225) Both comms have fatuous explanations, that on MahānU divides *vasur anyo* (= *stutyah*!)

elena twam atra śiṛṣanyān (MŚ *twam śiṛṣanyām*, Conc, but Van Gelder's ed, 6 1 2, *śiṛṣanyān*) *edhī* KS ApŚ MŚ The KS ApŚ reading alone makes sense 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy head' The MŚ form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a phonetic variant for °*vān*

unnetaṛ un non (read *no*) *nayonnetaṛ vasvo abhy un nayā nah* AŚ *unnetaṛ vasiyo na un nayābhi* (KS *vasyo 'bhy un nayā nah*) MS KS ApŚ The AŚ form may be felt as acc pl of *Vasu* (*n pr*), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for *vasyo* (*vasiyo*) 'lead us unto welfare'

§249 In a little group of three cases, AV substitutes the more popular *varīyah* for *varivah*, of which the *v* is certainly connected with the *u* of *uru*

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV AV *asma-bhyam mahi varivah sugam laḥ* RV

sakhā sakhībhyo varivah (AV **varīyah*) *kṛnotu* RV AV (both) TS KS GB Here Ppp has *varivah*, one ms of GB *varīyah*, which, it seems, ought to be read in GB in accord with AV, unless GB quoted from Ppp

tvaṣṭā no atra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV TS

§250. In another small group the *y* is definitely part of a case-ending, while the *v* remains suffixal or is a stem final

yābhīr indro vāṛdhe vīryāya (AV *vīryāvān*) RV AV N 'Increased unto heroism' 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'

gārhapatyah (ŚŚ °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK *prajāvān*) *vasunttamah* VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Objective gen *varying* with possessive adjective *prajananam vai pratīṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās* (MahānU *sādhuprajāvāns*) *tantum tanvānah* TA MahānU But most mss of MahānU agree with TA, the *ed* follows one ms and the comm

namah śamgave (TS † *śamgāya*) *ca paśupataye ca* VS TS MS KS

Wackernagel, II 1 p 315, plausibly takes *śamgāya* for *śamgayāya* *sa ghā* (TB *sadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed) *no devah savitā sahāvā* (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§251 In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations, see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here

pra stomā yanty (SV *yantu*) *agnaye* RV SV

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted *brahmanād upāsantat* (MahānU °*syantat*) *tapah* TA MahānU. The reading of TA is uncertain, see VV I pp 45, 125

[*madhye pośasya* (AG °*sva*) *tṛmpatām* (MG *puṣyatām*, AG *tṛṣthanīm*) AG ŚG MG. For *pośasva* read °*sya* with Stenzler's Translation.]

And in different present stem-formations of verbs

manve (ArS *manye*) *vām dyavapṛthivī* (ArS adds *subhojasau*) AV ArS Vait. See VV I p 125

§252 We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*

tam u tvam (SV *tava tyam*) *māyayāvadkīh* RV SV

tvam (KS *tyam*) *hy agne agnīnā* RV TS MS KS AB KB JB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Kauś

imam ū (MS *u*, p p *ū[m]*) *śu tvam asmakam* (TA ApŚ *tyam asma-bhyam*) RV SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ

§253 Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root *√* 'go' in variation with *av*. They tend to confirm the use of *at* as a verb of motion, see Neisser, ZWbch d RV 123ff

āpo agre vṛṣvam avan AV *āpo ha yad bṛhatīr* (TS MS KS *yan mahatīr*) *vṛṣvam* (TA *garbham*) *āyan* RV VS VSK TS MS KS TA 'Went (rushed?) into the all', AV is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'

atī setum durāyyam (SV *durāyyam*) RV SV. The derivation of the RV form is uncertain, see Oldenberg *Noten* on 9 41 2. The SV form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root *√* ('hard to cross')

ayebhyah (TB *ave*°) *katavam* VS TB *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original, note that *av-* occurs in a Tait text (see §247), is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-*? (comm 'to helpers') Tho *aya* may not be derived from root *z*, the variant belongs to this group

§254 Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable)

ṛṣṭinām putro abhīstapā u (VS ŚB °*pāvā*, TB °*pā aya*m) AV VS ŚB TB

tanūpāwānas (AV *tanūpā ye nas*) *tanvas tapojāh* (AV *tanūjāh*) AV AB AŚ *tanūpāvan* = *tanūpā*

svarvaj (AV *svaṛ ya*j) *jyotiṛ abhayam svasti* RV AV 14B TB

satyam (SV ApŚ *sa tvam*) *ṛsan ṛṣed asī* RV SV ApŚ The RV original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic *pādas*

*utānyo asmad ya*jate *vi cāvah* (TB *vicāyah*) RV MS TB N The original has *vi-ca-āvah*, *vicāyah* (comm *visceṇa pūjāyuktah*) is ἀπ λεγ, corrupt, and untranslatable See Kaegi, *Festgruss* Roth 159, 165

yena bhūyas carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG *bhūvis carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG The PG reading is clearly secondary

nāvas caranti svasica iyanāh VS TS ŚB *nāvo vi yanti susico na vīnīh* MS KS The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough, VS etc may have a lect fac

pītā bhāvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §538

praty eva (ŚŚ *pra tveva*) *gṛbhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

§255 The rest we shall not attempt to classify, note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both) *ghṛtam ghṛtayone* (MS *ghṛtavane*) *piba* AV VS 1SK TS MS KS

ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'Home of ghee' 'rich in ghee', *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-vant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV)

anuvāsi (VS *anuyā*, MS *anuvāya*, GB † Vait † *ahnānsi*, em Vait ed to *anuvāsi*) *rātryai* (VS *rātryā*, MS KS † Vait † *rātryai*) *tvā* (VS MS omit) *rātrim* (VS MS KS † *rātrim*) *jinvā* VS TS MS KS Vait (pratika in GB) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants The lexicons take them as containing the

roots *vā* and *yā* But note that MS presupposes a stem *anuva*, with short *a*

trātāram andram aḥnor avadhyam (VSK *ayudhyam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonyms, note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v* Something like the reverse process in Pāli *āvudha* = Skt *āyudha*

āvutsi (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhāh* RV VS TS MS KS Roots *ā-vid ā-yuj* Other interchanges of *v* *yu* in §305

nādyā śatrum nanu (ŚB † *na nu*) *purā mritse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV ŚB Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*v* *yu*)

rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatah (TB *vivasvatah*) RV MS TB The startling change in TB is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the prec *pāda* *Vivasvant* goes well with *Yama*!

śamgayī (MS ŚB *ḡavī*, TB *ḡaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīvadānū*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ *ḡaya* 'chattels' *go* 'cow'

somī ghoṣena yachatu (SV *vakṣatu*) RV SV Substantially synonyms *spardhante dhīyah* (TS KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA See §109

sarasvatyaḥ yaso bhagīnyai (KS *vesabha*°) *svāhā* VS KS

bṛhann aśi bṛhadranā (TS KS °*dgrāvā*, MS °*drāyāh*, MŚ °*drāyah*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The Maitr texts obviously secondary *malmalābhavantim tvā* (N °*lūyā*, corrupt) *sādayāmī* TS MS KS TA N *rudra yat te krayī* (*krui*, *kravi*, *giri*-) see §47

dhuñkṣāgneyī (VSK vv ll *dhuñkṣyā*° and *dhuñkṣvā*°) VS VSK MS *agnaye dhūñkṣnā* (KSA ° *ā*) TS KSA Wholly obscure words

nīkīrya (MŚ *nigīrya*) *tubhyam abhya āsam* (ApŚ *tubhyam madhye*, MŚ *tubhyam madhvah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ *nigīrya sarvā ādhīh* KŚ A desperate passage, see §47

dusvapnahan duruṣyaha TA Bibl Ind, *dusvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA Poona ed, text and comm *duhsvapnahan duruṣvāhā* MahānU Comm on TA *duruṣṣaha duhkhām utkarṣeṇābhībhava*, comm on MahānU *duruṣṣhā tvam, duṣtam uṣvam* (!) *dāham hanti* The word seems to be *durasyuha* ('hā) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasyu*)'

asvān anasato (KS † ApŚ *anasato*, MŚ Van Gelder *anasato*, without v l) *dānam* KS TA ApŚ MŚ Poona ed of TA reads *anahsato*, v l *anasato*, the comm *ayahsaphān*, with v l *anasato* Obscure

revatī ramadhvam (MS * °*ir amedhyam*) VS TS MS (both) KS The variant of MS is corrupt, see *AJP* 27 403 But the reading of the ed is an emendation, mss °*ramadhvam*

ayuktāso abrahmatā vīdasāma (RV *yad asan*) RV VS ŚB *vi-dasāma*, taken by Mahīdhara as from *vi + das* 'fail'

y and h

§256 A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions Cf Weber, *ISt* 4 224

dyutāno vājrbhir yatah (SV *hatah*) RV SV

sam sravantu dīso mahīh (HG *mayi*) ApMB HG

endram vagnunā vahata PB *vagnunendram hvayata* TB ApŚ Note the metathesis of *h* from the beginning of the original *hvayata* to the middle in *vahata* PB comm glosses *āhvayata*

yamār yamasya bibhryād (AV *virhād*) *ajāmī* RV AV See §222

tam aham punar ādade KŚ PG *imam tam punar ādade* 'yam (read 'ham) HG (plainly corrupt)

hinvāno hetrbhir yatah (SV *hatah*) RV SV

snuṣā sapalnā (TB comm and Poona ed text *°nāh*) *śvaśuro* 'yam *astu* (AŚ 'ham *asmī*) TB AŚ

r and l

§257 Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic, the same word is spelled with *r* or *l*. The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible. While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized.

§258 There is a tendency towards *l* noticeable in younger and less hieratic texts. The RV, especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked fondness for *r*. In the RV itself are found doublets such as the roots *pru plu*, *mruc mluc*, *car cal*, *pruṣ pluṣ*, the words *puru pulu*, *aram alakam* [despite Wust, in *Ehrensache W Geiger* 185ff, which does not convince me—F E], *sahamūra sahamūla*, and the intensive stems *jargur jalgul*. Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects, until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r*. The reverse is also found, tho only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded Pischel §259, and cf Wackernagel I p 215f, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30f. This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and thruout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms readings of one and the same text.

§259 The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel MS 3 7 9 has *aśvavāra* and *āśvavāra* against *aśvavāla* and *āś*° in the corresponding passages of KS 24 8 and KapS 38 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS, p xv). PG 1 15 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG 1 14 4 *glapsa* (GG 2 7 4 *grathna*). The variant *pleñgha* for *preñkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh 1 11 31 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *ṣvar* and *ṣval* figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsāgara (5 118, 122). In Aufrecht's edition of AB, p 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urūka*, *bahura*, etc). Such a thing is not surprising in a Rīgvedic Brāhmaṇa, and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV one better, for that form is unknown in RV, where *bahula* is common. In fact, the AB passage in question, 2 20 14 (also in AŚ 5 1 15), containing *bahuramadhyam*, imitates RV 10 42 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa(h)*.—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, ZDMG 33 196, that MS has a general preference for *l* over *r*. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text, we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS. While Maitr texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally. Per contra, note MS *aśvavāra* above in this section, and *kharvās* (to be sure with *v* 1 *lhal*°), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265).

§260 The very small group of lexical variants is now given first, one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt.

te no 'gnayah paprayah pārāyantu (MŚ MG *pāla*°) TS TB PB ApMB MŚ PG MG. The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated, both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent *paprayah*, related to *pārāyantu*.

adhī skanda (Ppp *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV *abhi kranda vilayasva* ŚG 'Play the hero' 'be strong' (*vil*° for *vid*°). See §272.

dhak tvā jāram parasya janasya nirmārgma MŚ *dhak tvā jālm*

LŚ. The words are quite different in meaning and construction. *mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah* (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhiḡgur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ. See §209 *gulbadhānah* is not divided in p p, it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc) = *guh*, 3 pl aorist.

§261 The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV, but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV, or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bakura* in AB (§259)

aśrīrā (AV ApMB *aślīlā*) *tanūr bhavati* RV AV ApMB. The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV, which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *śrī*. For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*.

asrīram (TB † *aślīlam*, both edd.) *cit kṛnuthā* (TB † **thāt*, comm. and Poona ed. text **thā*) *supratākam* RV AV TB.

samūdhan (VSK *samūlham*) *asya pānsure* (SV **le*) RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB N. The *l* form is regular after RV, the *r* form in RV only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts. *mā tad bhūmyām ā śṛṣan* (VSK v 1 *śṛṣan*) *mā tṛneṣu* RV VS VSK TS MS KSA. Cf. *aslesā* (*āsreṣā*) below, §265.

andhākīn (TS **he*, KSA **heh*, em. *ms* **he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS KSA **gudā*, VS *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS p p) VS TS MS KSA. The RV knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf. however *sthavira*).

anu no mārṣtu (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣtu*) *tanvo yad viriṣam* (VS TS KS † ŚB TA ŚŚ *virīṣam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ. *riṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later.

cappam (TB Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyui bhīṣag asya vālah* (KS *vārah*, TB *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS MS KS TB. The *r* form is almost limited to RV, cf. however *aśvavāra* in MS, §259.

devāṇśo yasmai tvede tat satyam upariprutā (ApŚ *apariprutā*) *bhañgena* (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ. The root is commonly *pru* in RV, only very rarely *śo* later.

*aślonā*¹ (comm. *asronā*) *añgair akṛtūh sarge* AV *aślonāñgair aḥṛtā* (read *akṛtūh* or **tā* with Poona ed.) *sarge* TA *srona* chiefly RV.

§262 Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV goes RV one better in its hieratic *r*, but both RV passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh labh*, which in RV always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later.

utālabdham (AV *utārabdhān*, Ppp *utāl^o*) *spṛnuhi jātavedah*, followed by *ālebhānād ṛṣṭibhūr yātudhānāt* (AV *utārebhānān ṛṣ^o yātudhānān*) RV AV

The AV is secondary and corrupt in its construction, see Whitney's note

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern *sukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns *rohita lohita*, of which again RV has only the *r* form. The case of *kṣudra kṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole.

śukrāya svāhā VS MS ŚB *śuklāya svāhā* VS MS

peṣo na śukram (KS TB *suklam*) *asitam* (MS *samh mss aś^o*) *vasāte* VS MS KS TB

varunāya rājñe trayo rohitalalāmāh (TS † misprinted *rohita-la^o*, KSA *lohita^o*) TS KSA

atho ye kṣullakā va AV *halah kṛmīnām kṣudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāh* TA (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives)

§263 Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b). In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānah* of MS, see §260.

asya kūrmo (RVKh *kulmo*, AV Ppp *ms kṛmo*) *harīwo medinam tvā* RVKh TS TB AV Ppp (Barret, JAOS 37 263f) *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV *īha kṛmo harīwo medinam tvā* KS. Scheftelowitz p. 112 reads for RVKh *īha kūrmo ha^o vednam tvā*. But his *kūrmo* is an emendation of a *ms* reading *kutso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kulmo*.

upapṛavada (RVKh *upapṛa^o*) *mandūkī* RVKh AV N. Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapṛa^o* in RVKh, this time with his *ms*. The form intended is *upa-pṛa-vada*, cf. *ā-vada* in next *pāda*. The reading with *pṛa*, if it is anything more than a *ms* corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavaśva* in the second half stanza.

antarikṣam purītālā (TS *puri^o*, MS *pulī^o*, KSA *pulī^o*) VS VSK TS MS KSA. The *r* forms are commoner.

satatam tu śrābhīs tu MahānU *samtatam śrābhīs* (Poona ed. *śil^o*, but *v l* and comm. *śr^o*, gloss *nadibhīh*) *tu* TA. No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded.

§264 Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare. Here, first, eight passages containing *sarira* or *sahila* 'ocean'. That MS invariably has *sahila*

cannot be considered significant (cf §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV, neither RV nor AV knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism

aśvam jajñānam sarirasya (MS *salilasya*) *madhye* VS TS MS KS ŚB
prapīnam (MŚ v 1 °*lam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ *salilasya*) *madhye* VS

KS MŚ *prapyātam* etc TS ApŚ

vibhrājamānah sarirasya (MS *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA °*yāt*) VS TS MS
KS ŚB TA

vyacyamānam salilasya (VS KS ŚB *sarirasya*, TS TA *bhuvanasya*)
madhye AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

sariram chandah VS KS ŚB *salilam* ch° TS MS

sarirāya svāhā VS *salilāya tvā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ *salilāya svāhā*
ŚB

sarirāya (MS TA *salilāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS MS ŚB TA

sarire tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS KS ŚB *salile* etc MS *salile sadane*
śīda TA

§266 The rest are miscellaneous

kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (MS *lalāṭe*) *purastāt* VS MS The *l* form is commoner

aśleṣā (TS *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS In MS *p p aśī*°, KS may intend either *a-* or *ā-* The word regularly has *l* Cf *mā tad bhūmyām* etc, §261

adhorāma (HG text *atho*°) *ulumbalah* (HG *ṭulumbarah*) ApMB HG The word (usually *udum*°, probably related to *udumbara*, *ud*° 'fig-tree') appears in RV AV etc, always with *l* in the last syllable, except here in HG, which may show dissimilation to preceding *l* Cf §273

mudgāś ca me khalvās (MS *kharvās*, v 1 *khal*°) *ca me* TS MS KS A kind of grain, the *r* form not found elsewhere Note that it occurs in MS (cf §259)

achalābhuh (KSA °*rābhuh*, MS [*m*]atsarābhuh, VS *ṛkṣalābhuh*) *kapinjalān* VS TS MS KSA See §184

r and *v* ✓

§266 These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning *r* and *v* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word *jīra-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīva-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood (*udādāya prthwīm jīradānum* (TS TB ApS °nuh, VS ŠB *jīvadānum*).

VS TS MS KS ŠB TB ApS

śamgayī (TB °ye, MS ŠB °gavī) *jīradānū* (ŠB *jīva°*). MS ŠB TB AŚ ŠŚ

§267 The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings

avakrakṣīnam vṛjabham yathājuram (SV *yathā juvam*) RV AV SV 'Ageless' 'swift'

ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā rīśantām (KSA *viś°*) RV TS KSA † 'Graze on' 'enter', the latter an evident lect fac

purū reto dadhīre sūryasvītah (AV °śrutah) RV AV KS The AV is secondary and not very intelligent, 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original. Yet KapS (see note on KS) has °śṛtah, evidently intending °śrutah

rudra yat te krayī (*krivi, kravi, giri-*) see §47

pāti priyam ripo (and *ripo*) *agram padam veh* RV (bis) *pāty agnur vipo* *agram padani veh* ArS

dūredrām grhapatim atharyum (SV *athavyum*) RV SV KS ApS MS N The SV form is desperate. Benfey suggests *atharv-yum* with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff.)

In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned

aśvinā gharman pātam hārdvānam (TA *hārdduānam*, read *hārdi°* with Poona ed., LŚ *pātam aharyānam*, MS *pībatam hārdrānum*) VS MS ŠB TA ŚŚ LŚ The MS corruptly mounds over an obscure form. Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel *u*

hivī (SV *hivā*) *sro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV *rārapac*) *carat* RV SV *tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatam* (MS °relam, AŚ corruptly °bhavatām) TB AŚ ApS MS

rathe akṣeṣv rābhasya (KS TB °ṣu vr°) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāh* ViDh See §359

mīśravāsasah kauberakāh ApMB *kauberakā viśvavāsah* HG

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *deva* (agne) *jarasam* (*haviṣā, °ṣo*) *vṛnānah* (etc.), see

§854

asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣv ā*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso †vatā haveṣu* AV

varunāya rīśādase (KSA *vidase*) TS KSA So the ms of KSA but von Schroeder emends to *rīśādase*

§268 In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned
ugram oṃṣṭham tavasam (SV *tarasam*) *tarasvinam* RV AV SV Assim-
 ilation to *tarasvinam* in SV
vātajavair (HG *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavarh* MS HG Either
 assimilation in MS, or avoidance by dissimilation in HG of the
 banal sequence *vātajavair manojavarh* Since the latter process
 seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS is secondary
dhanamjayam dharunam dhārāyṣṇu RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam*
pārāyṣṇu AV *bhūmidṛṇho* 'cyutas cyāvāyṣṇuh AV The last,
 unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyāv* after *acyutah*, 'un-
 shaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in
 the Veda (c g *ajuryam jarayantam*, RV 2 16 1)

r or v and h

§269 These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance,
 cf §266

aredatā (KS * *ahed*°, so ed, but ms *īdatā* read probably *ared*° with
 v Schr on KS 32 3, n 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamīyāt*, TS
manasā tac chakeyam) TS MS KS ApŚ *ahedatā* (ŚŚ *ahel*°)
manasedam juṣasva AŚ ŚŚ The root *red* in Naigh 2 12 is followed
 immediately by *hed* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'

sahamānā sahasvatī (PG *sarasvatī*) PG ApMB HG *sarasvatī* is a
 blunder

tam tvā bhrātarah suvṛdhā (ApMB °*dho*, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam*
 AV ApMB HG See §109

tā (tāv) ehi (*eha, iha*, MG *eva*) , see §§578, 898

sa ghā (TB *sadyā*, Poona ed *sa ghā*) *no devah savitā sahāvā* (TB *savāya*)
 RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

l and d

§270 It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *d* and
dh between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bā-skala recensions of
 the RV to *l* and *lh* This variation is ignored in the Conc, because it is
 carried out with mechanical completeness Clearly related to it is the
 change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later
 Vedic texts, Wackernagel I §194 This alteration is carried thru, with
 as absolute completeness as in RV, in two texts, VSK and ŚŚ, and also
 in the twentieth book of AV These cases are recorded in the Conc,
 but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern
 VSK and ŚŚ alone Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically

It is clear that ms tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercised their discretion to some extent. Thus N seems to intend to write *l* thruout. In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV occur in Book 20, and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV in those parts of AV 20.

§271 The list follows

vdāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApS MS *vdawāsmān* (RVKh *vlawa vām*) *anu vastām vratena* RVKh AV Vait. But Scheftelowitz reads *vlawa ghṛtena* for RVKh
ardamṛdā yavyudhah KS *alabrḍā* (MS *°mṛdā*, KapS *ilamṛdā*) *āyur-yudhah* (IS *yavyudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS. See §241
ādityā rudrā vasavas tvelate (AB *twel°*, for *twed°*, GB Gastra *†tenute*, with all mss.) AV AB GB JB ŚŚ
aṣṭrām tādām pratināhā (ApS *† tām pratināham*) MS ApS
yad devī devahedanam (VSK TA **°helanam*, but TA Poona ed. both times *°hel°*, with v l *°hed°*) AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB TA (bk.) Vait ApS MS Kauś BDh Gḍh
nahy anyam badākaram (AA *balā°*) RV AA AŚ. But Keith reads AA *balī°* (as is read in RV)
asrathnan dṛdhāvradanta vīditā RV *avradanta vīlītā* (fragment) N
indrasya mṛdayātī (AV ŚG *mṛl°*) *nah* RV AV ŚG
ide (ŚŚ VHDh *ile*) *dyāvāprthivī pūrvacittaye* RV AB KB AŚ ŚŚ KS MS VHDh
īdenyo (AV ŚŚ Vait *ilenyo*) *namasyah* RV AV SV ŚB TB AŚ Vait
kṛīdantaḥ (N *kṛīl°*) *putair naptṛbhīh* HV AV N
yad vīdāu (AV *vīlāu*) *indro yat sthūc* RV AV SV Svidh
vīlū (AV Vait *vīlu*) *cid ārujatnubhīh* RV AV SV Vait
vīhi śūa (TB *sūra*) *purodāsam* (AV *°lāsam*) RV AV KS TB N
vauṣat (ŚBK ŚŚ *vauṣat*) AB GB ŚB ŚBK ŚŚ Vait MS ApS
vij ānāt (AV *ānāt*) *indrāh prtanāh svajāh* RV AV

d and *r*

§272 The same change occurs sporadically also between *d* and *r*. Twice this concerns the word *idā*, *ilā*, or *irā* the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf. also *ahur dvābhir ātubhīh*, §360, here MS has (for *ahar*) *vahad* (cf. next §), but one ms *vahad* and p p *vahat*.

irāvātī (KS *idā°*) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA AŚ ApS MS
ida (ŚŚ *ila*, MS MS *idā* ApS ** ira*, in the same passage with **ida*) *ehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ ApS (both) MS

dr̥nhasva vīdayasva (MS *vīr°*) *su* TS MS *adhiskanda vīrayasva* AV ,
abhī kranda vīlayasva ŚG See §260
vīruc chapathayopanī AV *vidu chapathayambhanāh* ApŚ The latter
 is a clear corruption of the AV reading, which Caland adopts
varenyakratūr (AV *°tur*, ApŚ *idenya°*) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ *vīren-*
yah kratur indrah suśastih RV See §§383, 554

d and *r*

§272a On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in GGA 1931 236ff, especially 239f, and his article in *Ehrendgebe für Wilhelm Geiger* 136f He refers to Palañjali (Intro to Mahābhāṣya, on Vārtt 9, p 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations *yarvānas*, *tarvānas*, for *yadvānas*, *tadvānas*, and to Wackernagel I p 212 Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB *°rīr*) *asya samṛtīm vadhūnām* (TB *ba°*) RV TB, where a difficult 2d person sing is substituted for a 3d person (cf VV I p 237), traces of this phonetic tendency (Cf ChU 4 1 2 *pradhākṣīr* for *°ṣīd*, Oertel, ll cc) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p 195f) Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in ZII 8 289f) are

mayi rāyo mayi rakṣah MS 4 9 13 134 5, for which the Conc suggests *dukṣah* for *rakṣah* *mayi dakṣakratū* TS †2 5 2 4, ApŚ AG HG
mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh VS MS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ
na me tad upadambhīṣar dhṛṣir brahmā yad dadau MS (originally *°dambhīṣad ṛṣir°*, Caland, ZDMG 72 10 *infra*) *na ma idam upadambhīṣag* (once erroneously *udambhīṣag*) *ṛṣir brahmā yad dade* ApŚ (bis) Here the ApŚ form seems to stand for *upadambhīṣad*, with final *g* for *d* (= *k* for *t*), see our §142
yadā rāghaṣī varadah Vait *yadā rākhātyau vadatah* ApŚ *yad adyārā-dhīyam vadantah* MŚ See §70

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following
ahar (MS *vahad*) *divābhīr* (MS *divyābhīr*) *ūtībhīh* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ
 LŚ One *ms* and *pp* of MS *vahad* (*vahat*), see §360, and the preceding §272 The MS is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic

dadhir (SV *dadhad*) *yo dhāyī sa te* (SV *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV
balīm ichanto vitudasya (AG *vi tu tasya*, v 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (Ma-
 hānU AG *preṣ(hāh)* TAA MahānU AG See §65

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ °yat) ṛnayā na īyase (SV īrase) RV SV KS
 AB ApŚ *dviṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV

l and d and n

§273 By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *n* and with dental *d*, these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here, but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q v) In two contiguous passages *harikṇikā*, fem of the color-adjective *harita*, is changed in ŚŚ to *harikḷikā*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r*, but the characters are graphically much alike

tāsām ekā harikṇikā (ŚŚ °ḷikā) AV ŚŚ

harikṇike (ŚŚ °ḷike) *kim ichasi* AV ŚŚ

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l*
urūnasāv (TA *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV TA °pāv) *udumbulau* (TA *ulum*°)
 RV AV TA AŚ See Lanman apud Whitney AV The TA
 comm., fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktau* (as if *uru-bala*!) See
adhorāma etc, §265

ni nivarāṇa varāyendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB

Both *ár* *λεγ*, obscure epithets of Indra KS looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary

CHAPTER VIII THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as *koṣa koṣa* (cf. §289, end), *śrambh śrambh*, are really never determined, and even so clear a root as *sru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13 cxvii ff., Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p. lx, Winternitz, Introduction to *ApMB*, xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

ś and s

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges, and first those in which ś takes the place of regular or etymological s. In a number of cases the root *sru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *sru*, the *Pet. Lex.* goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *sru* in that sense. *śam yor abhī śravantu* (MŚ *śra*^o) *nah* RV AV SV VS KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ HG. So Cone from Knauer's report of mss., but Van Gelder's ed. reads *sra*^o for MŚ without v. l. *vi śrutayo* (AŚ *visru*^o, ŚŚ *viśru*^o) *yathā pathah* SV AŚ ŚŚ. One ms. of ŚŚ *visru*^o.

dadhī mantham paśisrutam (ŚŚ *manthām paśisrutam*, one ms. *śisrutam*) AV ŚŚ.

ā tvā paśisrutah (MG *śṛtah*, mss. *śṛtam*, AG *śrutah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † *āh*) AG PG ApMB MG *emām* (ŚG *enam*) *paśisrutah kumbhah* (ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV ŚG —AVPpp *ā tvā paśisṛtah*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32 366 *śṛtah*. The readings of AG MG, tho. certainly secondary, make sense.

pratyañ (VS TS ŚB * TB *yañk*, MS †* and KS v. l. *yañ*) *soma atidrutah* (AV text *atī hrutah*, VS †* MS *atīśrutah*, KS v. l. *śisrutah*) AV VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ. The true reading of AV is *drutah*, see Whitney's note.

§276 The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally, see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified

śam ūdho romaśam hathaḥ ApMB *sam ūdho romaśam hatah* RV
Comm on ApMB takes *śam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*, see Winternitz, p
xx

§277 The rest are sporadic

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt' (ŚG *sramo dadat*) MS ŚG MŚ SMB *Sṛma*
is a name of an Asura, in the adjoining Brāhmaṇa of MS it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to *Sṛma*, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth, cf *Sṛpa*, *Sṛnara*, and *Sṛmala*, names of Asuras (Harivaṇśa, see Pet Lex). ŚG has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gehe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle.

āstām jālma (KS *jālma*) *udarom śransayitvā* (KS *sranis*?) AV KS
Both edd of AV read thus, some mss *śrans*° and some *sranś*, none the 'correct' *sranis*°

śam te hīranyam śam u santv (ApMB *sam u santv*) *āpah* AV Kauś
ApMB Metathesis of *s* and *ś* in ApMB, see Winternitz, p xvi
somaś caturakṣarasyaśrīṇīr (MS *śrīṇīr*) *nakṣatrāṇi* MS KS A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asrīṇī* except here in MS

peśo na sukram (KS TB *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS all samhitā mss *aśitam*, ed em *asitam* with p p) *vasāte* VS MS KS TB

ā śīrṣṇaḥ samopyāt AV, comin and Ppp *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney Cf however Bloomfield, SBE 42 255 (*keśam opyāt*?)

svāvṛt tat HG Kirste suggests *sv-āvṛt*, the context gives no help in interpretation

madhu vanśiṣṭya AV Read *vans*° cf JAOS 13 cxviii, and Whitney on AV 9 1 14

§278 In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *ś*

śam te hīranyam śam u santv (ApMB *sam u santv*) *āpah* AV Kauś
ApMB See §277, and for other *sam sam*, §§276, 280

[*agnim ca visvasambhūvam* RV † AV† KS TB† ApŚ† No variant, correct Conc]

śimāh (VS *śimāh*) *kṛnavantu* (VS * *samyantu*) *simyantah* (VS *śamyantāh*)
VS TS KSA † The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

- occurring in the same pāda, is the *s* of VS due to dissimilation?
 Mahidhara = *śimāh*, glossed *rekhāh* or *maryādāh*
parnaśado (ŚŚ °*sado*) *jaritah* (AV Vait °*dah*, om *jar*°) AV AŚ ŚŚ
 Vait Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf' ŚŚ possibly
 understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *sad*)
viśve devā nātvidhyanti sarve (KS *sūrāh*, ApŚ *sūrāh*) AV KS ApŚ
 The latter can only intend *śūrāh* Other cases of these two words,
 capable of lexical explanation, §284
yam eva vidyāh sucim (VāDh *sucim*) *apramattam* ViDh VāDh N
śukeṣu me (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ 3 of SPP 's
 mss, comm, and Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 228) read *śukeṣu*
mrgasya śṛtam (HG *śṛtam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB HG (vv ll *śṛtam* and
śṛtam in ApMB) Kirste says 'probably *śṛtam*' More likely
śṛtam is intended in both texts It is a question of ill-omened
 sounds (*sakunai ruditam ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG)
 'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss' For *śru*
śru cf. §§275, 283
pred u harwah śrutasya (SV *sutasya*) RV SV TS The word refers to
 Indra, SV is perhaps thinking of Soma Benfey abandons it
 and translates the RV
namah śaṣṇīṇjarāya (TS *sasp*°) *twiṣimate* VS TS MS †KS See next
ye vaneṣu śaṣṇīṇjarāh KS *ye vṛkṣeṣu śaṣṇīṇjarāh* (TS *sasp*°) VS TS
 MS MG See prec Except in TS the word is always written
śaṣṇ°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaṣpa* (with haplology,
 Wackernagel I p 279) Perhaps TS gets its *s* by confusion with
sasya 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śasya*, cf Wacker-
 nagel l c, Keith on TS
yā na ūrū uśatī vīśrayāte (AV °*ti*, ApMB HG *vīśrayātai*) RV AV
 ApMB HG Comm on ApMB, *śakārasya śakāruh*, cf Winter-
 nitz p xvi
krīdī (VSK °*li*) *ca śākī caṇṇeṣi* (ApŚ *sākī tcorṇeṣi*, v l °*jīṣi*, *ca*) VS
 VSK ApŚ Name or epithet of one of the Maruts Doubtless
 'mighty', root *śak*, so Mahidhara, and *sākī* seems incapable of other
 interpretation
jīmūtān hrdayaupasābhyaṁ (VS °*sena*, VSK v l °*sena*) VS VSK TS
 MS KSA
na jyotiṁṣi cakāsatī Suparn *jyotiṣam na prakāśate* RVKh
trīṣṭam piśitām asyate AV 5 19 5b Whitney accepts Zimmer's emenda-
 tion *akṣyate*
yad asravan paśava vdyamānam AV 7 66 1 Read or understand
asravan with SPP, comm, and Whitney

sarau parnam wādadhat AV 5 25 1 Read or understand *sarau* with Whitney

§279 In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original

rkṣo jatūh suṣṭikā (MS *śusulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS MS The p p of MS reads *suṣṭiketī suṣṭ-lūkā*, suggesting that VS has the true reading But *śusulūkā* occurs once in RV Both meaning and original form are obscure, folk-etymology may have been at work, Sāyana thinks of *śusu* and *ulūka*, in RV it is associated with *ulūka*

grāmyamañkīradāsakau ApŚ *grāmyam mangīradāsakau* MŚ *vyāghram mangīradāsa gauh* Vait Obscure proper names, see §49

§280 In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation tho they seem to us too faint to be important While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms Thus the words *śam* and *sam* each make sense in these passages, cf §§276, 278 *śam abdhyaḥ* TS MŚ ApŚ MŚ *sam adbhyaḥ* (supplying *sundhasva* from the preceding) KS

mandukyā su śam ṭgamah (TA *gamaya*) RV TA *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily

yat ta āsthitam śam u tat te astu TB *yat te viriṣṭam śam u tat ta etat* Vait 'That shall be all right for thee' 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'

§281 When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer Thus in three cases of the roots *śam-vas* and *sam-vas* which are practically synonyms we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments

teṣv aham sumanah śam vīsamī (AŚ *īsatī* for *īni*, MG *vasama*) AŚ

ApŚ HG ApMB MG See Knauer's note on MG

amavasye śamvasanto (MŚ *īvasanto*) *mahitva* AV TS MŚ

tasyām deva adhīśamvasantah TS TB *tasyam devāḥ śamvasanto mahitva* AV *tayor deva adhīśamvasantah* ApŚ *yasyam* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi śamvasantah* MŚ

§282 The root *ās* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *as* 'attain', they are practically synonyms in these passages The *ās* forms all occur in RV, the *as* forms in SV, which is contaminated from such expressions *śas barhiḥ asāte* RV 8 31 6 and 1 144 6

śahasrasthūna āsāte (SV *as*) RV SV

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV *āsata*) RV SV

yatrāmṛtāsa āsate (SV *āsata*) RV SV

§283 The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*, in the first variant also the roots *sru* and *sru*, cf. §§275, 278

ṛṇcakṣāḥ soma uta sūśrug (comm and Poona ed text *śūśrug*) *astu* TB
sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu MŚ See §145 *sasrud* is an em for mss *sasrad*, *sasrud*, *susud*, Conc suggests *susrud*, but *sasrud* occurs in RV, and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing' Perhaps *susrut* should be read in MŚ

dṛṣe ca (MS *dṛṣā ca*, RV *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā brhatā suśukvanāḥ* (RV *sus^o*, KS *susukvabhīh*, MS *susikmanā*) RV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB See §240

§284 The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice, cf. *viśve devā* etc., §278

śūro (TB *sūro*) *na mitravaranā gaviṣṭsu* RV TB The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'

vīhī sūra (TB *sūra*) *purodāsam* (AV *īlasam*) RV AV KS TB N The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero', TB transfers it to an address to the sun

§285 The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words in *s*, some of them rather remote in form

sarvataḥ sarvasarvebhyaḥ (TA *śarva sar^o*, some mss add *sarvasarvebhyaḥ*, MahānU *sarva sarvebhyaḥ*) MS TA MahānU *Se namah* 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm on MahānU *sarvātmaka*])', to all (the Rudras)' MS has v l *sarvataḥ* for *sarvataḥ* Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two sounds, despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic

sarvān agnīnr (AV *svān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vah* (MS *huve*, AV *havamake*) AV TS MS AB

kalpantām te (TA **me*) *dīśah sarvāḥ* (TA **sagmāḥ*) VS ŚB TA (both) *viśve deva natividhyanti sarve* (KS *sūrāḥ*, ApŚ *sūrah*) AV KS ApŚ
 See §278

§286 The root *sūd* varies with *sudh* and *subh*, cf. §174, and note AV *radantam śuddham uddharet* AV 20 136 16d, where *śuddham* is based on mss readings *sudam* and *sunam* (Index Verborum)

asūśudanta (MS KS *aśusubhanta*) *yajñīyā rtena* TS MS KS TB
āpo asmān (MS *ma*) *matarah sundhayantu* (TS ApŚ *sundhantu*, AV MS KS *sūdayantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ

§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question

yena śrīyam (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛnutam* (PG **tām*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv akurutam*)
ŚŚ SMB PG GG *strī* is certainly original

śumbhānas (KS *śtam*) *tanvam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV *†tanvām*) *svām* RV
SV MS KS TB

svām tanvam (TS TB *tanuvam*) *varuno* 'suvot' (TS TB *asvret*) TS MS
KS TB 'Enlivened' 'entered into'

śunam ma iṣtam *svam ma* (*ma idam*) *iṣtam*, see §353

tās tvā viśantu manasā sivena (TB *mahasō svena*) AV TB

yad anena haviṣāsāste tad asyāt (AŚ *asyām*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
'May he obtain that' 'that (is) in this (offering, see *hotrāyām*)',
or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words
are *tad ṛdhyāt*) Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām ṛdhet*
dhotrāyām

sakma yat te goh KS MS *sagme te goh* VS ŚB KŚ *samyat te goh* TS
See §47

taṣṭhau nākasya sānavi (SV *varmani*) RV SV

apāvṛnod duro a-mavrajānām (MS *asmadrathānām*) RV MS TA

svātrāḥ pītā (ViDh **nātāḥ pītā*) *bhavata yuyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ
ViDh

sadā (MS *sacyā*) *paśyanti sūrayah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB
Nrpu Gopālu ViśuU SkandaU

tad asya priyam abhi pālho aśyām (TB *asthām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ
Poona ed. text and comm. *asyām* for TB, see VV I p. 86

aryo nasanta (SV *nah santu*) *saniṣanta* (SV **tu*) *no dhīyah* RV SV
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

āśum jayantam anu (KS *yā samjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV VS
TS MS KS ŚB Even the original version is obscure

ā sūtrāṇe sumatiḥ āvṛnānah AV Perhaps originally *āsutrāṇe*, see
§355

s and ṣ

§288 Here the total number of variants is much smaller. Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following s seems to replace proper ṣ phonetically
nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (VS *arsat*) VS VSK IśāU The
word clearly means 'going' (root ṛṣ), VS comm. *ṛsa gatau*. Cf.
however *anarsarātum* (*ālarsarātum*) §292

abhyāṣṣkṣi rājābhūm (MS v 1 °bhūl, ApŚ °bhūvam) MS ApŚ *abhi-
kṣkṣa rājābhūvam* (v 1 °bhūvam) MŚ (quoted from unedited mss, probably only a textual error)

§289 We find *ṣ* for proper *ś*, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, *Śanda* or *Ṣanda*. The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with *ś*.

śandāya (VSK ṣa°) *tvā* VS VSK TS MS ŚB ApŚ

nirastah śandah (VSK MS † *4 6 3 ṣa°) VS VSK MS (bis) ŚB TB
KS ApŚ MŚ

apanuttau (KS °tā) *śandāmarkau* (MS * ṣa°) TS MS (bis) KS TB
ApŚ MŚ. See von Schroeder's note on MS 4 6 3 82 16, which indicates that he then believed MS to intend *śanda* thruout. But need it have been consistent? The mss are unanimous for *ṣ* in some places, nearly unanimous for *ś* in others. Those of MŚ vary.

Corruptions

yenāpāmṣatām (SMB v 1 °ṣatām) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāvamṣatām*
surām PG

varuneti sapāmahe (MS † °haṣ, LŚ †ṣayāmahe) VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ. The LŚ has probably a mere misprint.

[*kavaṣyo koṣadhavanīh* (MS text *koṣa*°, all mss *koṣa*°, TB † 'koṣa°)
MS KS TB. Read 'koṣa° in all. There would be no variant but for the em in MS, which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *koṣa*.]

§290 The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions, the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original.

indrānyai kīrṣā (KSA °ṣā) TS KSA

ṛkṣo jatūh suṣulūkā (MS ṣuṣulūkā) VS MS. See §279.

kūśmāñ (VSK † v 1, MS *kūṣ*°) *chakapindarīh* (MS ṣa°) VS VSK MS
kūśmāñ chakabhīh TS KSA

kūṣmāndāh, *ku*°, and *kūś*°, *kus*°, also °māndyah and °māndāni, various
Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses
ākaraṣye karaṣyo yathā ApŚ *gīh koṣvoṣyaur yadā girah* Vait. *madhv ity
ākaraṣah kusaur yathā* KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is
obscure.

§291 Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *viśva*
varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*), the meanings are fairly close.

viśvam satyam kṛnuhī viṣtam astu RV *viṣvak satyam kṛnuhī citlām
eṣām* AV. See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50, Whitney on AV
3 1 4, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 30 6. [But no emendation of AV

is necessary. Render 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party)' Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 351f) has *viśvam viśtam kṛnuhi satyam eṣām*, closer to RV. Same general sense in all F E.]
adhī kṣamī viśurūpam (ArS *kṣamā viśva*) *yad aśu* (ArS *asya*, MS † *asta*) RV AV ArS MS TB (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs)
purudāsmo viśurūpa (KS *°dasmavad viśvarūpam*, TS ApŚ *urudrapso viśvarūpa*) *induh* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ

§292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable

anarśarātīm (SV *alarśrātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhī* RV AV SV N. The RV form is derivable from root *ṛs* 'injure', cf. Neisser, ZWbch d RV, s v. The SV form seems on the face of it to contain the root *ṛ*, it may be corrupt. Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'
nābhīmṛṣe (MS KS *nabhūdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhūrānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣānah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Not to be touched (attacked)'

asya hotuh pradīsy (AV *praviśy*) *ṛasīya vāci* RV AV VS MS KS TB N. Synonyms 'at the command'
prānān samkrośāh MS *samkrośan prānāh* (VS *°krośāh prānān*) VS TS *samghośān* (ms *°gośān*) *prānāh* KSA. Synonymous roots *kṛiś* and *ghuṣ*

yayor vām devau deveṣu anivṛtam (TS *anīś*) *ojah* TS MS KS 'Undestroyed', from *a-* and pple of *ni-śyati*, 'incessant', *a-nivṛta*
sam tvā śiśanti (Vait *śiś*) Vait LŚ KS. Garbe takes *śiśanti* from *śiś* 'leave', it is more likely from *śas* (*śiś*) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śiśanti* ('sharpen')

vanaspatīnr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (**rāye aśyāh*) RV (both). Roots *iṣ* and *aś*, practically synonyms. The two versions in adjacent hymns, see RVRep 258. Add to VV I §121, 324

aspṛśam enam satasārādāya RV AV. In AV most mss, SPP, and even Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 257), read *aspṛśam*, in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV form in his Translation (root *spṛ*, aor), we think that the AV tradition intended *aspṛśam*, as a form of *spṛś* 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years'. Of course the form is highly anomalous

dīrghām anu prasṛtim (KS *samṛtim*) *ayuṣe dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS MS ŚB TB *dīrghām anu prasṛtim* *samspṛśethām* MS Cf §78
tve ṛṣah (KS *vīṣve*, MS *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrwarpasah* (TS † *bhūrretasah*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

pratnāso agna ṛtam āsuṣānah (AV *āsasānah*) RV AV VS TS 'Blowing upon' 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending')

abhiṣṭīr (HG °ṭīr, ApMB *abhiṣṭīr*) *yā ca no grhe* (RṼKh *ca me dhruvā*)
RVKh ApMB HG

ā darsate śavasā sapta dānūn RV AV N *ā darsati śavasā bhūryojāh* AV

The whole thought is made over in AV

atrā te bhadra raśanā apasyam (KS *bhadra vṛṣanā agrbhnām*) RV VS TS
KS

aśūśubhanta (TS TB *aśūśudanta*) *yajñnyā ṛtena* TS MS KS TB

See §286

§ and s

§293 Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete.

dāvya mimānā manasā (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB

made susipram (SV *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasah* RV SV Cf PAOS

13, p. cxviii

āprno 'sī samprnah (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samprna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is corrupt

vasiṣṭhahanuh VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam* TS TA

sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah*
karah karasyuh LŚ

tenemām upa siñcatam RV AV TA N *tena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ

asūrte (MS KS °tā) *sūrte rajasī nṣatle* (MS °tā, KS *na sattā*) RV VS

MS KS N See §828

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV

ṛṣinām ca stutīr (SV *sustutīr*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS

§294 The rest are scattering

ye vṛkṣeṣu (KS *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiṇḡarāh* (TS *śaspi*°) VS TS MS KS MG

See §§32, 278, and next

namah śaṣpiṇḡarāya (TS *śaspi*°) *tvīṣimate* VS TS MS † KS

sarvām tam (AV *sarvān ni*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tām*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS ŚB, *masmasā*, MS † *mṛsmṛsā*, one ms *mṛsmṛsā*, VS *bhasmasā*)
kuru (AV *-karam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The word is sound-imitative (cf Eng *mash*, similar but independent) VS rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242)

ā sultrāne sumatim āvrnānah AV *oṣiṣṭhādāvne sumatim grnānāh* TS

Whitney suggests, attractively, *āśultrāvne* (to match *oṣiṣṭha-* in

TS), but *su-trāman*, *su-trāta*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV (*āśu* seems not used with the root *trā*)

kh, kṣ and sibilants

§295 In view of the common later confusion of *ṣ* and *kh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds, cf. the mss reading *ṣudasi* at AV 20 135 4, for *khudasi* of ŚŚ
kaṣoṭkāya svāhā TA TAA *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU Neither word is interpretable

§296 There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *kh* and *ṣ*, which point in a like direction, cf. the reading *khunā* for *ṣunā* (thru *ṣunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Carita 2 268

āsum tvājau (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhare devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ The original is *āsum*, which refers to Agni To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ and MŚ, reads *ity ākhukarīṣam* (MŚ *kirim*) *nirapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill' Hence the word *ākhu* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ (where Caland translates *āsum*)

ud vāsam iṣa yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham iṣa menire* Mahābh 12 284 78

§297 And one case of *ks* and *ṣ* (lexical)
mayum te sug ṛhatu (KS *te ksut*) VS MS KS ŚB The same with other animal names in the same passage

ś(ṣ) and h

§298 There is but faint evidence for this interchange The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or (else very much under suspicion of corruption In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic, see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264 In the following it is to be presumed that an original *ś* is replaced by *h*

dhiyā na (SV *nā*) *vājān upa māvi* (SV *māhi*) *sasvatah* RV SV Verb endings, see V V I p 104 The reverse is found in the first variant in §299

dhruvāśah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG The obsolescent ending *āśah* is replaced by the regular *ā(ṣ)* plus the particle *ha*

jātavedo nayā hy enam sukrām yatra lokah JB *jātavedo vahemam* (ŚŚ *vahasvainam*) *sukrām yatra lokah* (TA *lokāh*) TA ŚŚ The Conc suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB

āsannīṣūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām*
apsuvāho mayobhūn SV See §820

[*pratyāñ* (etc) *somo atidrutah* ("srutah etc, AV text "hrutah), see §275
 The true text of AV is "drutah]

§299 In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s*
stulo yāsi (RV *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV VS TS KS ŚB LŚ See VV I p
 105 The converse of the first variant in §298

turīyādātīya (VSK *turyā*°) *savanam* (RV *hav*°) *ta indreyaṃ* RV VS
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonymous roots *su* and *hu*
ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS *ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti* (AŚ
harito vahantu) TB AŚ ApŚ

guhā hātām nṛhātām (KS † omits *nṛhātām*, by haplology) *gahvareṣu* KS
 MŚ *guhā sātīm gahane gahvareṣu* TB ApŚ

pratno h (TA *pratnoṣe*) *kam idyo adhwareṣu* RV AV TA MahānU
 The TA reading is corrupt, comm *pratanoṣe*!

[*suhaveha* (AV misprinted *susaveha*) *havāmahe* RV AV VS MS KS
 See Whitney on AV 3 20 6]

CHAPTER IX PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

1 Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300 This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of *sandhi*, namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels, the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character: see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root

ya eṣa svapnānānsanah (AV °*nasanah*) RV AV N

pūṣṇe āghṛṇaye svaha TA *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (en, mss *āpṛṇaye*) *svāhā*

MŚ *āghṛṇi* is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For *āñghṛṇi*, common *añjanena dīpyamanah*, but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *agh°*.

§301 From different and equally regular forms of the verb

agnim naras triṣadhasṭhe sam idhre (SV TS *indhate*) RV SV TS KS

agnim idhe (SV *indhē*) *vivasvatkṛh* RV SV

atra pitaro yathābhāgam mandadhvam TS TB ApŚ *atra pitaro mādadhvam* VS VSK MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ MŚ Kauś SMB

GG KhG ViDh Add to VV I §240

krūrām ānāsa (KS † ApŚ *ānāsa*) *martyah* (KS † *martuh*) AV KS

ApŚ See VV I p 187

na pāpatvāya rāsīya (SV *rānsīyam*) RV AV SV See VV I p 109

§302 In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbisāt* (VS °*viśāt*, LŚ † *śadvinsāt*)

RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ See §217

agnim idita (SV *indhīta*) *martyah* RV SV Cf next, both verbs are common in Agni-worship

yam śim id anyā idate RV *yam sam id anyā indhate* SV Cf prec

yāsad (SV TS KS *yānsad*) *viśvam ny atrinam* RV SV VS TS MS KS

Roots *yā* and *yam*, quasi-synonyms

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yaśa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ MŚ HG *mā vo* (AŚ no) 'to 'nyat pitaro yoywata (AŚ *yuñgdhvam*) AŚ Kauś If we may trust *yuñgdhvam*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic Cf VV I pp 42, 150

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayanu* (TS ApŚ *śundhantu*, AV MS KS *śundayantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ

§303 Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological, at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vida vinda*, *vṛjyāh vṛñjyāt*, etc.), §279 (*maśiya mañsiya*), §280 (*adadrhanta adadrñhanta*), and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *ti*, *nti*, *te*, *nite*, etc., on pp 255 ff

§303a Twice subjunctives in *-(ā)si* are reported with an anomalous *n* before the *s*. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms of KS in the second, in the first no v l is reported for ŚG and Oldenberg keeps **yānsi*, tho he translates **yāsi* (see his note, p. 36)

jātānām janayās ca yān (ŚG *janayānsi ca* AV Ppp *janayāsi* [not **mā*, as

Whitney says] *ca*) AV ŚG Barret, JAOS 32 360, needlessly emends

Ppp to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253

vahāsi mā (KS † *vahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāh* (KS † *lokah*) KS TB

§304 Similarly, such cases as *vṛṣā punāna āyusu* (SV *āyūnṣi*) RV SV, or *svar devā* (TS TB ApŚ *svar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ, belong to noun declension, and *ajasram tvām* (ApŚ *tvā*) *sabhāpālāh* TB ApŚ to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated, here we content ourselves with examples

§305 Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation

urvī gambhīrā (TS *gambhīrā*) *sumatiḥ te astu* RV TS MS KS. In this

and the next TS replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language

gabhīram (TS *gambh°*) *imam adhvaram kṛdhi* VS TS MS ŚB Cf prec

samudra wāsi gahmanā (TB *ganh°*, but Poona ed *gah°*) TB ApŚ
satyaujasā dṛghanā (KS † *dṛhanā*, MS *durhṛnā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS

KS *sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV Both TS and KS understand a form of *dṛh* *dṛnh* (cf *adadṛhanta adadṛnh°*, VV I p 187), AV and MS struggle in common with another idea

antah subhrāvātā (SV *sundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV SV Cf §173

samudrāya sisumārah VS MS *sindhoh sisumārah* (KSA † *sisū°*)

TS KSA The form *sisu°* occurs in RV, cf Pali *sunsumāra*. Later *sisu°* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to *sisu* 'boy'. The long *ū* of KSA may be a mere corruption in the single ms

§306 The prefix *sa-* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious)

samvṛd asi TS *savṛd asi* VS KS PB *savṛtā savṛte savṛj jnva* MS
samstup chandah VS MS KS ŚB *saṣṭup chandah* TS

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛthe (TS *samvṛdhvane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS *suvṛdhvane*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

salatani tu śrābhīs tu MahānU *samtatam śrābhīs* (Poona ed *ślā°*, v 1 *śrā°*) *tu* TA

nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yausam MS *nakṣatrānām mā sainkāśa ca pratikāśa* (āvalām Vait Kauś

agne saṣṭmahe (MS *samsṛ°*) *girah* RV SV MS KS Here *sa-* is the reduplicating syllable

sa (MS *sa-*) *dundubhe saṣṭur indre na devah* RV AV VS TS MS KSA
N The MS hardly makes sense, it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to *saṣṭur*

sa- (MS *sa-*) *dāśuse kṛatu bhūri vāmam* TS MS AŚ ŚŚ Again MS is hardly interpretable, its change is the reverse of the prec

sa- *yajñapatir* (VSK *yajamāna*) *āsīyā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MS *sa yajñapatir āsīyā* Vait (probably to be corrected to *sa-*, see Caland on Vait 4 21)

§307 Other cases of final *anuvāra* before consonants (cf also §401)
ragobhūmis tvam mām (MahānU *tvam ām*, so TA Poona ed with v 1 *tvam mām*) *rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāh* TA MahānU

tato (PB *te*) *ha yajñe* (MŚ 'ham yajñe') *bhuvanasya gopāh* (MŚ *goptā*)
TB PB ApŚ MŚ Sec §192, MŚ clearly secondary

ya im vahanta āśubhāh RV yadī vahanty āśavah SV
svahpatir yadī vṛdhe SV svarpatim yad im vṛdhe RV AV
yo rayvo (SV rayim vo) rayintamah RV SV KB ŚŚ ŚG The SV
 doubtless corrupt
lasyaṁ no devah (MS lasyām devah) saviā dharmam (VS † VSK †
TS † ŚB † dharma) sāṁṣat (VSK ° śak) VS VSK TS MS KS
 ŚB Stems *dharmā dharman*
mā mā yūnarvā hāsīl (JB yono vām hārasīh) PB JB LŚ Incom-
 prehensible in either form
sa im (TS ī) mandrā (see §374) VS TS MS The particle *im*
 becomes *ī* in TS, before *m*, this might be put with §401
sam im (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV

Nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'

§308 The R̥gveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV cases always anusvāra) acts as 'Hiatusstilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 33 4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelieved, and in another case ApMB MG read *tanūn* for RV *tanū*, all intending a loc. sing.

svāyām t̄tanūn (RV tanū) t̄viye (RV † °vye) RV ApMB MG
 See Winternitz, *Introd. to ApMB*, XIX. Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām*.

ā te suparnā aminantan (MS TS °ta) evaiḥ RV TS MS KS AB

§309 Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m*, seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatusstilger' between vowels, or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus.

yadīn (AV yady) ṛnam samgato devatāsu AV TA Comm. on TA
yadīn ṛnam, yad eva prasiddham ṛnam We must apparently understand *in* for *im* (aliter *ī*), the particle of emphasis, the TA form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus. A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf §438.

abhīm ṛtasya (SV abhy ṛtasya) sudughā ghṛtakṣutah RV SV The SV, tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatusstilger.

abhī (SV abhīm) ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata RV SV

yenākṣā (SMB °kṣān, PG °kṣyāv, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyāṣāñcatam*, PG °tām) AV ŚŚ SMB PG Nom acc forms

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV If TS has the original form, AV may be regarded as a lect fac, with avoidance of hiatus *agner jhivām abhi* (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām*, *abhi*, AV KṢ *jihvayābhi*) *†grnītam* (AV *grnata*) AV VS TS MS KS 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni' MS might intend an instrumental, but note the p p

§310 Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants

agnir ukthēna vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir uktheṣu anhasu* AV *apām rasam udvayasam* (KS *udayansam*, TA *udayansan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA

agnim adya hotāram avrñitāyam yajamānah pacan paktīh (VSK *pañktīh*) *pacan* VS VSK MS KS TB (See also Conc under *sīsena* *agnim adya* etc, TB, but Poona ed of TB lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi) *pañktīh* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt The same blunder in Kauś 22 10 see Bloomfield, JGA 1902 492

§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*), to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong

tam āhutam naśimahi (AV °tam as°) RV AV AB Parallel roots *as* and *nas*

tasya rathagṛhas (MS °kṛtsna-, KS °kṛtsaś) ca VS TS MS KS ŚB See §46

namah kṛtsnāyatāya (VS °yatayā, KS *kṛtsamvītāya*, TS MS *kṛtsnā-vītāya*) *dhāvate* VS VSK TS MS KS A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS

na kī devā minīmasi RV *na kī devā mīmasi* SV Svīdh The strange *mīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from *i(-noti)* Benfey equates it with *mūn*° with unexplained loss of *m* Reverse of Hiatusilger?

sam tvā tatakṣuh (LŚ °kṣnuh) Vait KŚ LŚ See VV I p 146 The monstrous form of LŚ may be influenced by its viniyoga *itī takṣnuyuh* (itself somewhat anomalous)

agnaye dhūñkṣnā (KSA °kṣā) TS KSA *dhūñkṣāgneyi* (VSK vv II °kṣyā and °kṣvā) VS VSK MS Possibly the second nasal of TS is due to the influence of the first

annam me (ApŚ *no) *budhya* (ApŚ °dhnya) *pāhi*, and °yājugupah
MS ApŚ One ms of MS writes *buddhya* each time, perhaps
budhya is intended

Cf *jīvām ptebhyah* (read *mṛ°* with SPP, comm, and many mss)
parināyamānām AV

§312 Note finally the following curious variant
kāyamāno (MŚ *kāmayamāno*) *vanā tvam* RV SV MŚ N Sāyana
glosses by *kāmayamāno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily
introduced in MŚ

2 Presence or absence of *y*

§313 A large proportion of the variants under this head concern
the presence or absence of suffixal *ya* A form containing this suffix
varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary
noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a* These
cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more
fully To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics,
notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as
bhakṣa bhakṣya, etc Metrical considerations enter to some extent,
the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form,
and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as
will be pointed out in individual cases

(a) *Words equivalent in meaning, y follows two consonants*

§314 We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and
is often written, and regularly pronounced, *ya*, see §784), and in which
the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y* The latter in a
few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by
showing *vriddhi* of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks *vriddhi*
aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mṛtyeṇa (ApMB *maitreṇa*, KS ApŚ *cakṣuṣāham*
siveṇa) AV KS ApŚ ApMB But *maitreṇa* may be a noun,
'friendship', *mṛtyeṇa* must be an adjective

māham pauṭram (KBU *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG *niyām*, see §724,
SMB *niqām*, and *riṣam*) AG SMB ApMB HG KBU

ya āntarikṣāh (sc *sarpās* etc) HG *ye sarpāh pārthivā ye āntarikṣyā*
AG

vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyair (ApŚ *āntarikṣāh*) *pātu*
KS ApŚ *vāyuṣ tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divah* MŚ The latter
contains the primary noun and belongs with §321

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB *āgnendham*) VS TB On the troublesome
TB form see §491

§316 In the rest, the great majority, secondary vridhhi appears in neither form or in both

sumnāya sumnī sumne mā dhattam TS TB ApŚ *sumnāyuvah* (KS °yavas) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS *sumne sthah sumne mā dhattam* VS ŚB Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'

agnir devebhyah suvidatryebhyah (TA °trebhyah) RV AV TA N *svargāsi* KS *svargyāsi* ApŚ

ūrdhvaṁ manah svargyam (TA *svargam*) MS TA

na yajñasya manvate martyāśah (TB ApŚ *marlāsah*) RV KB TB ApŚ The reading *marlāsah* is poor metrically

krūram ānanśa (KS † ApŚ *ānāśa*) *martyah* (KS † *martah*) AV KS ApŚ Again *martah* is unmetrical

marṣeṣu (VS MS KS *martyeṣu*) *agnir amṛto ni dhāyī* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

sumitrā (VS ŚB MahānU ŚŚ KŚ *sumitryā*, AŚ LŚ *sumitryū*) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa oṣadhayah santu* (KS † °yo *bhavantu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh Followed by

durmitrās (VS ŚB MahānU KŚ °tryās, AŚ ŚŚ LŚ °tryās) *tasmā santu* (KS * TS † TB TA MahānU BDh *bhūyāsu*) *yo* , same texts

śārgah śrayah (TS KSA *ākhuh śrayā*) *śayāndakas* (KSA °kās, em v Schr °kas, TS *śayandakas*) *te maitrāh* (KSA °tryāh, em unnecessarily to °trāh in ed) VS TS MS KSA

abhi dipunnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣtha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*, MS p p °ṣtha) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB *yaviṣtha* and °ṭhya are perfect equivalents, the former seems to be preferred at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas

tvām agne samidhānam yaviṣtha (RV °ṭhya) RV TB ApŚ The stanza is pure jagatī in RV , half of it is made triṣṭubh in the others

salam pūrbhūr yaviṣṭhya RV *yaviṣtha pāhy anhasah* RV TA See RVRep 539

gambhīrebhīh (AV TS HG °rauh) *pathubhīh pūrvinebhīh* (MS *pūrvēbhīh*, AV *pūryānāh*, TS HG *pūrvyāh*) AV TS MS KS SMB AŚ HG

brhat sāma kṣatrabhīrd vṛddhaviṣṇyam (MS °nam, so ed with p p , other mss °nam, read probably °nyam, TS °vrṣṇyam) TS MS KS AŚ

tāsām viśīṣṇānām (KS °nyānām) MS KS

namo nīveṣyāya (p p nī²) *ca hṛdyāya ca MS · namo hṛdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca VS namo hṛadayyāya* (KS *hṛadayyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (KS °ṣyāya) *ca TS KS* From the noun *naveṣyā* 'whirlpool', is derived *nīveṣyā* 'of the whirlpool' The stem *nīveṣyā* (or nī², note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it, practically a question of mere orthography One KS ms *nīveṣyāya*

namāh śighryāya (TS *śighryāya*) *ca śibhyāya ca VS TS namah śibhāya ca śighrāya ca MS KS*

tau te bhakṣam (LŚ °ṣyam) *cakratur agra etam VS JB TB ApŚ LŚ ŚŚ tayor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi TB ApŚ tayor aham anu bhakṣam* (LŚ °ṣyam) *bhakṣayāmi VS LŚ tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi JB ŚŚ*

jaṭrāyā (ApMB °tryāyā) *viśatād u* (HG °tām, ApMB °tān) *mām RVKh VS ApMB HG*

devāṁso yasmā tvede bhañgena (ApŚ *bhañgena*) *VS ŚB ApŚ yasmā bhañgyaśravo* (KS MŚ *bhañga*°) *gāya KS TA ApŚ MŚ yamam gāya bhañgyaśravah* (KS MŚ *bhañga*°) *KS TA ApŚ MŚ mandūkāñ jambhyebhūh* (KSA *jambhah*) *TS KSA TB ApŚ jambhābhyaṁ taskaran* (p p °rān) *uta MS jambhyais* (KS °yebhis) *taskarān* (KS † °rān) *uta VS TS KS*

aśvasya vāje (KS *krande*, TB *krandye*) *puruṣasya māyau AV KS TB yo 'sya* (MŚ *asya*, but Van Gelder 'sya) *kauṣhya* (KS *kauṣha*) *jagatah KS TS ApŚ MŚ*

śvetāya vaidarvāya (PG °vyāya, AG ŚG °dūrvāya, MG *vaitahavyāya*) *AG PG ŚG ApMB HG MG*

pāpāt svapnyād abhūtyāh AV pāpah svapnād abhūtyai KŚ It would be pedantry to see in *svapnya* any really different meaning from *svapna* [*inatamam āptyam* (AV *āptam*) *āptyānām RV AV N* The AV must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney]

(b) *Words equivalent in meaning, y follows one consonant*

§316 Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant, both forms still equivalent in meaning A small group shows the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y*

meghyā (VS *maṅghr*) *vidyuto vācah VS TS MS KSA*

bṛhanto darvāh (VS *divyāh*) *VS MS ApŚ divya* from *div*, *darva* from *deva*, but meaning the same.

achinnā divyas (KS ApŚ *darvyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi MS KS ApŚ* See next

brhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *dawo*, this belongs to §324) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ *brhaspatir brahmāham mānuṣah* LŚ *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun Cf prec

kalpayalam mānuṣīh TB ApŚ *ḍṛṇhantām dawīr viśah kalpantām* †*manuṣyāh* KS

dhiṣanāś pārvatī (VS ŚB *par*°, TS TB ApŚ *parvatyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Adjectives *pārvata* and *parvatya* (and, if VS ŚB are right, *parvata* Mahīdhara, *parvatātmikā*), all 'of the rock' The VS ŚB reading is supported by the ms readings (two occurrences) of KS, *parvatī* both times, von Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice

aranyāya (MS *āranūya*, but p p *aranyāya*) *śmarah* VS TS MS KSA

§317. The rest show vridhhi either in both forms or in neither Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems *dawa* and *dawya*

dawo (HG °*vyo*) *yo mānuṣo gandhah* ApMB HG

dawā holārah sanīṣan na etat AV *dawyā holāro* (TS °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *van*°, KS †*vanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (KS *etat*) RV TS KS

dawyā (AV °*vā*) *holārā* (TS °*rāv*, AV °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (MS adds *imam*, KS *holārordhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV VS TS MS KS 18 17a (†)

dawyam (MS °*vam*) *mānuṣā yuṣā* (MS *yujā*) RV SV VS TS MS ŚB

pauruṣeyād dawyāt KS *pauruṣeyān na dawāt* AV 4 26 7c

mānuṣād dawyam (MŚ °*vam*) *upaimi* TB ApŚ MŚ

sam dawena (VS ŚB both also °*vyena*, TA *devena*) *savitṛā* VS ŚB TA Mahīdhara glosses both forms by *devena*

§318 Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūa* and *sūrya*, again perfect equivalents

bṛhat sūro (KS *sūryo*) *arocata* RV KS

sūryāśo (SV *sūrāśo*) *na darsatāsah* RV SV

sajūh sūra (MS *sūrā*, TS *sūrya*) *etasena* VS TS MS KS ŚB

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *janayañ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ *indrah*) TB ŚŚ

spardhante dhīyah (TS KSA *dhīah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA

§319 The rest are sporadic

āpura stā mā prajāyā pasubhīh pūrayata ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata prajāyā ca dhanena ca* TS AŚ

agneh puriṣavāhanah (MS *puriṣya*°, VS † ŠB † °vāhanah) VS TS MS
KS ŠB *puriṣa* and °ṣya are equivalent, Pān 3 2 65

kāmāyau svāhā MG *kāmāyāu svāhā* MS MŚ Probably MG
corrupt

śakalyam (AG *śakalam*, sc *īarpayām*) ŚG AG Both patronymics
from *śakala* Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG reads *śāk*°, we
assume that *śakalyam* is the true reading, *śa*° probably misprint
yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB *śronī*°) *bhāsadāt* RV AV ApMB
yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV In RV *bhāsada*
is a noun, in the second AV version it and *bhasadya* are both
adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyam*, but Whitney suggests
bhāsadam) must be omitted as an ancient gloss

rāyās poṣam audbhidam (ApMB °*dyam*) RVKh VS HG ApMB
pāvamānāh, °*nyāh*, and °*nyah*, various Dharma texts All adjectives
from *pavamāna*

māyobhavyāya (ŚG āyo°) *catuspadī* AG ŚG *catvāri māyobhavāya* TB
ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG MG Equivalent nouns

adveṣe (MS °*ṣye*) *dṛvāpṛthivī kuvema* (MS *kuve*) RV VS MS 'Having
no hostility' = 'not hostile'

[*mitrāvarunābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām* VS TS MS KSA † Conc
wrongly quotes KSA as *ānuṣṭubhyā*°]

anyam te asman (NṛpU 'eman, AV *asmat te*) nī vapantu *senāh* (AV
senyam) RV AV TS NṛpU *Senyam* must = *senā*

(c) Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows two consonants

§320 In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to
each other In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled
by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary
noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it In other cases the
difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance
becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is
especially tenuous

§321 As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two con-
sonants, being then sometimes written *zy*

mandrābhībūtih (MŚ *mandrā vibhūtih*) *ketur yajñānām* (MŚ *yajñīyā*)
vāṇ TS MŚ

vāṣve devā mama śṛṇvantu yajñīyāh (ArŚ *yajñam*) RV ArŚ ŚŚ
yajñam-yajñam (KS *yajñīyā yajñam*) *prati devayadbhyah* (KS † ŚŚ †
°*yadbhyah*) VSK KS TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ

mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (mss *nuk*) MŚ *mā rudrīyāso abhi*
gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA

iyam putryā (AB *vai putre*, AŚ ŚŚ *putre*) *rāstry ety* (AV GB *etv agre*
AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

putrah putre (KŚ *putrye*) *lokakṛj jātavedah* TB KŚ ApŚ 'As a son to
his father' 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'

yā (AV omits) *antarikṣa* (KS AG °*kṣyā*) *ula pārthuvīr yāh* (KS *pār-
thwāśah*, AV *vā prthavyām*) AV KS TB ApŚ AG (AVPpp
pārthwā yāh)

namah kāṣṭhāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya (MS °*ṣṭhāya*, p p °*ṣṭhāya*) *ca* VS TS
MS KS

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyaṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaṣṭhyāya*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB 'Of the noblest' 'of the highest nobilities' 'for
highest nobility'

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhah vastasyādhanah (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyād-
hanah*, MG *śraṣṭhyasya svastasyādhanah*) *pāram aśīya* AŚ
ApMB MG Read *vastasyā*° in MG with most mss
arghah HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG *arghyam bhoh* Kauś *arhanīyā āpah*
ApG *arghyam* '(water) of the argha'

adhyakṣāyānukṣattāram 'TB *ṭadhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS

§322 A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter
meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered
with *ukthas*'

uktham vācīndrāya TS AB GB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ *uktham avācīndrāya*
ŚŚ *ukthyam vācīndrāya śṛvate tvā* AŚ

mantram vadaty ukthyam (NṛpU *uktham*) RV VS MS KS AA ApŚ
NṛpU

aṅgāni ta ukthyah pātu MS ApŚ *ukthas* ('I read *ukthyas*?) *te* †' *āgāni*
pātu asau AŚ

ukthebhyaḥ tvokthāvyaṃ grhnāmi KS *ukthyebhya ukthyāvyaṃ* ApŚ
uktham (AŚ *ukthyam*) *indrāya samyam* RV SV AŚ

(d) Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows one consonant

§323 Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the
y, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya*
'heroism'

yaṁ vīryair vīratamā savīthā AV *vīrebhir vīratamā savīthā* MS
vīryebhir vīratamā savīthā (TB *sac*°) VS ŚB TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
eṣa te yajño yajñapate sahasūktavākah svīrah (AV *svīryah*, VS *sarva-
vīras*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

anāmi ksatram ajaram svīryam (MS KS *svīram*) RV TS MS KS
sa (also *sā*) *no dohatām svīryam* (MŚ *svīram*) TB ApŚ MŚ (In
all texts with both *sa* and *sā*)

purukṣu twaṣṭā (MS °*taḥ*) *suṁryam* (VSK TS *suṁiram*) VS VSK TS MS

nirdevam nirvīram (KSA °*ryam*) *kṛtvā* TS. KSA.

prajāṁ suṁrām (PG *suṁryām*) *kṛtvā* TS PG

§324. Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *daivya*, cf several similar cases at the beginning of §316
divaś chadmāsi AG *divyam chadmāsi* LŚ

divo dhārām bhindhi KS *bhindhidam* (MS *bhindhy ado*) *divyam nabhak*
AV TS MS KS

madhye divo (MS * *divyo*) *nahataḥ pṛsnar aśmā* VS TS MS (both) KS
ŚB

ahar divābhīr (MS *vahad divyābhīr*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ
divābhīr is for *divā + ābhīr*, but is understood by comm on TA as one word, = *dyotamānābhīr* This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS, which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective

vācā tvā hotrā prānenodgātrā *pañcabhīr daivyaiv* (MŚ *devaiv*) *ṛtvigbhīr uddhārāmi* ApŚ MŚ

§325 The rest require no subdivision

ātīr (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāḥ*) VS TS MS KSA

pāra (p p of TS *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyah* (KSA † *'vārīyebhyah*) *pakṣma-bhyah svāhā* TS KSA *avāra* (p p of TS °*re*) *ikṣavah pāryebhyah* (KSA *pārīye*°) *pakṣmabhyah svāhā* TS KSA *pāryāni pakṣmāny avāryā ikṣavah*, and *avāryāni pakṣmāni pāryā ikṣavah* VS MS

pāryāya kavartam TB *pārāya mārḡāram* VS *avāryāya mārḡāram*
TB *avārāya kevartam* VS

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathah RV SV *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB

sugam ca me supatham (VS KapS °*thyam*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS
KapS

mā twā kṣetrāny aranāni (MS °*nyāni*, p p °*nāni*) *ganma* RV TS MS
KS TB

bṛhatā tvā rathamta: ena triṣṭubhyā (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* MS KS
bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā TS

sūpasthā asī vānaspatyah MŚ *sūpasthā devo vānaspatih* TS ApŚ

agne tvam purīṣyah VS KS ŚB *agneḥ purīṣam asī* VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ And others, see Conc

namah sobhyāya ca pratisuryāya (MS °*sarāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS
namo lopyāya colapyāya (MS °*pāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

namah parnāya (TS KS † *parnyāya*) *ca parnaśādāya* (VS °*śadāya*, TS °*śadyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

śukras te grahah (VS ŚB *grahyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ 'Draught' '(juice) for the draught'

atho varunyād uta RV AV VS *nir mā varunād uta* (ApŚ *adh*) LŚ ApŚ Inferior meter in the latter

sa budhnyād (TS KS AŚ °*nād*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS KS AŚ° *januṣabhy*) *agram* AV TS KS AŚ (AVPpp agrees with the others, Barret, JAOS 37 260)

tayā gr̥nantah sadhamādeṣu AV *tayā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh VS °*mādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB *tasthur gr̥nantah sadhamādyāṣah* RV AV (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh, but his ms °*mādyeṣu*) In MS KS TB *sadhamādyā* means the same as °*māda* 'feast', but in RV AV 'participant in a *sadhamāda*' *nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt* LŚ ApŚ *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV AV VS

agne devānām ava heda ūyakṣva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devānām yaṇa heda agne* (KS *yaṇe hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaṇe hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *ava devān yaṇe hedyān* TB ApŚ

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

anhasaspataye tvā VS ŚB KŚ *anhaspatīyāya tvā* TS MS TB ApŚ

§326 We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar

ūrjasvatī rājasūya (TS *rājasūyāya*, MS KS °*sūyās*) *cūtānāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB *rājasūya*, adjective in MS KS, is equivalent to *rājasū*, the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel In TS it appears as a noun Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -ūy- and -i-

svāhā rājasūyāh (VS ŚB °*svah*, TS °*sūyāya cūtānāh*) VS TS MS ŚB MŚ Cf prec

mahādevam antahpārsvena (VS † °*parśavyena*) VS TS TA Formally, the VS form is based on *parsu* 'rib' Mahidhara *antar pārsvāsthī sambandhinā mānsena* The form *antahpārsvya* occurs in the next formula

āganma mtrāvarunā varenyā (KS °*yam*, MS *varena*) TS MS KS Here the adjective *varenya-* is corrupted in MS to *varena*, instr sing of *vara-*

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya*

upastutyam mahi jātam (MS °*tyam janāma tal*, TS * *upastutam janāma tal*) *te tarvan* RV VS TS (both) MS KS Vait Gerundive varies with past pple

uta prahām atāḍvīyā jayātī (AV °*divā jayati*) RV AV The RV has a gerund form, the AV a nom sg of stem -*divan*

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning)

jīvāṭave na mṛtyave (PB *martave*) RV PB

§328 A few variants concern noun inflexion. Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem forms in *y-ah* varying with masc or neut forms without *y*)

āpo me hotrāśansinah (AG °*śanyah*) ŚB ApŚ AG 'The waters are my Hotrāśansins', the priest-name is once made fem to agree with *āpah*

varṣāś cālṣuṣyāh VS ŚB *varṣāni cālṣuṣāni* TS MS KS Here the noun itself changes gender

Or different case-forms vary

in śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, KS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā*. The latter may be nom in RV (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10 13 1), in most texts it is certainly instrumental

imām narāh (MŚ ApŚ * *narah*) *kṛnuta vedim etya* (MŚ *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss but one, ApŚ † 2 2 6a *eta*) TB ApŚ MŚ Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya*. The reading *etat* (actually *etad*, before *d-*) has no standing, were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401

vāñ ma āsan (MŚ PG *āsyē*) AV TS GB TAA Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś PG BDh Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsyā*. Interest attaches to the form *āsyān*, which is read by Gaastrā in GB with all his mss, and which is also the reading of most mss of AV and Kauś, so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts. (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mess of Vait, possibly this is an editorial oversight) The form *āsyān* is evidently a blend of the other two forms

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first), the same root now and then forms both; cf VV I p 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following

tapate svāhā TS KSA TA *tapyate svāhā* VS

tapatyai (TA Poona ed *tapyatvai*, v l *tapatyai*) *svāhā* KSA TA *tapyatvai* (v l *tyai*) *svāhā* TS The form *tapyatvai*, if correct, would be from the R̥gvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapyā-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres pple) is based on stem *tapa-*

§330 So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms, see VV I pp 49 ff, where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyān*) *abhyāścicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *ṣīñcatam*, PG *ṣīñātām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG

§331 Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA ApŚ MŚ See VV I p 78

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *ṣ*, etc

§332 Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *kṣ* Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character, connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp 28-9)

vācaspace vāco vīryena sambhṛtalamenāyakṣase (TA *yakṣyase*, ŚŚ *yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Aorist in MS, future in TA, in ŚŚ a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *ā-yam*

(*net tvā*) *dadhṛg* (TA *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan paryāñkhaṣyāte* (TA *tai*, AV *vidhakṣan parīñkhaṣyātai*) RV AV TA Many mess of AV *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended

bardhānsy agne ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV
SV MS ApŚ See VV I p 29

bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah (KS *bhakṣa*°) VS KS So the single ms of KS ,
ed emends to *bhakṣya*° If the ms reading were kept we should
have to assume a pple middle in form but passive in meaning
mekṣāmy ūrdhvas tṛṣṭham AV , so emended by RWh , all mss *mekṣāmy*
yenākṣā (°*kṣyāv*, etc) (see §330) In PG *akṣyāv* is taken to be
from *akṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption

§333 In one verb form the *y* appears after *ts*, it may be regarded as
belonging with the *kṣ* cases in view of §§182 ff

tendātsyam (GG ŚŚ MŚ °*sam*, so also p p of MS , most mss of MŚ
°*syam* with MS text) MS ŚŚ MŚ GG The proper form is
arātsam, aorist, the conditional does not fit See VV I p 29

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category

ratho na vājam sanṛṣyann (SV °*ṣann*) *ayāsit* RV SV Clearly a phonetic
slip in SV , making a sort of aorist pple , Benfey, tho he interprets
the form as aor , translates a future

ā vrṣcyantām (AV *vrṣcantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV AV The AV form
is evidently a phonetic blunder, cf VV I pp 29, 51 f

§335 Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing
the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff, we find the following cases of *y* present or
absent after *kṣ*

dhūkṣāgneṣṭi (VSK °*ṣyāgneṣṭi* or °*ṣvāg*°) VS VSK MS *agnaye dhūkṣā*
(TS °*ṣnā*) TS KSA See §255

tarakṣuh (KSA † °*kṣah*) *kṛṣnah svā caturakṣo* (KSA °*kṣyā*) *gardabhas ta*
itarajanānām TS KSA The ed emends to *caturakṣo*, which seems
necessary

akṣyos (mss *akṣos*) *tanvo rapah* AV

Cf further such mss readings as *vbhuṅkṣamāna* for *vbhuṅkṣya*° at
Kauś 23 9, 38 26

§336 The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal con-
sonants Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root
ścut (Wackernagel I p 268) The forms written with *ścyut* may be
partly contaminated with *cyu*, indeed the mss also show forms which
might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such
that their intentions are doubtful

prasthitā vo madhuścutah (VSK MS °*ścyutah*) VS VSK MS TB So
the editions But Poona ed of TB records a v l °*ścyutah*, and per
contra, all *sambhitā* mss of MS read °*cyutah* or °*ścutah*

struā devam ghṛtaścutā (KS and v l of MS °*ścyutā*) RV TS MS KS

ghṛtaścūto madhuścūtah TS MS KS ŚB *ghṛtaścyuto madhuścyutah*
VS MS So v l and p p of MS in the other passage Moreover
KS has v l *ghṛtacyuto*, and for *madhu*° its two mss read °*ścyutah*
and °*cyutah*

dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat ApŚ *prthivyām avacuścotantad* TB ApŚ
yata ścutad dhutam agnāu tad astu KŚ *yatra cuścutad agnāv evatat*
MŚ (but the latter is a dubious emendation, better, *yatra ścutad*)
yata ścutad (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ See on this variant VV I
p 139

§337 Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals

viṣṇoh śnaptre (TS *śnyaptre*, MS *sipre*) *sthaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ
ApŚ The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately
ñ, this is indicated by the TS variant (v l and p p, however,
śnaptre), so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf Keith, *HOS* 18
xxxvii)

apāśnuṣṇim apā rakṣah (and, *apā ragham*) TA *apāśnyuṣṇim* etc TA
So, correctly, Poona ed *āśn(y)uṣṇi* is an otherwise unknown
epithet of Agni The comm explains only the form with *y*,
monstrously *asnīnām bhoktṛnam uṣṇir dāhako yo 'gṇih* Cf prec
mano jyotir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *guṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB Vait *ājyam*,
AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS KS TB ŚB AŚ Vait LŚ KŚ
divo jyote (KS *°*tur*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) MS KS
vivasvān aditur devajūtis TS

mṛṣase (SV *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV SV

syāmā sarūpamkaranī AV 1 24 4a Here the Berlin ed reads *sāmā*
with nearly all mss, but against comm, Ppp, and the evident
sense, which demands *syāmā*, see Whitney's note

Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

§338 To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected
with any consonant That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most
commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel
Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases
in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two
words which are unconnected in the form without *y* In either case
the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y*
presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatusstilger', reminding us of the similar
use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73), cf
Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31 The phenomena are,
to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical
changes, rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this

agne akṣīni (HG *agneyakṣīni*) *nir daha svāhā* ApMB HG As Kirste observes, HG must intend *agne ak^o*, so that *y* is a simon-pure 'Hiatustilger' and nothing else See also *anāmayaṛdhi* etc , §344

§339 The cases of initial *y* are

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV **nītir*, KS **dhītam* and † **nītha*, MS **dhīta*) *yajñān* (AV MS KS **agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *agne* is probably original, it is preceded by *r* or *m* in AV KS , by *e* in MS , the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial *y*-

añjanī suprayasam (AV Ppp *yuñjanti suprajāsam*) *pañca janāḥ* RV AV Ppp MS See §192

pītevaḍhi sūnava ā (MS **sūnave yah*) *susevah* VS TS MS KS TB Ap⁵ *devebhūr aktam* (VS TS *yuktam*) *aditih sajoṣāh* VS TS MS KSA

kāṣṭhā ajmeṣu (SV *yajñeṣu*) *atnata* RV SV A lect fac in SV

vīsvakarmā vīmanā ād vīhāyāh (KS **nā yo vyomā*, MS *vīmame yo vīhāyāh*, TS *manasā yad vīhāyāh*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ N *ameṣtam asī svāhā* VS ŚB *yameṣtam asī* (with or without *svāhā*) TS MS KS TB 'Sacrificed at home (to Yama)' Preceded by *asī* in all The preceding vowel *i* makes insertion or omission of *y* particularly easy

āśum jayantam anu yāsu vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB *yā sanjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS The latter is doubtless secondary Preceded by *gīrā* KapS *āśram*, doubtless intending *āsum*

§340 In some instances case-forms of the relative stem *ya* exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem *a* This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial *y*

trīnśad yasyā (TB *asyā*) *jaghanam yojanāni* MS KS TB

asya (SV *yasya*) *te sakhye vayam* RV SV

ghorā ṛṣayo namo astv ebhyah (MŚ *astv adya yebhyah*) AV TS MŚ *cakṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam* AV *cakṣur yeṣām* (v 1 *hy eṣām*)

tapa uccabhīmam MŚ *cakṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca sandhau* TS *yasyām* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi samvīśantah* MŚ Others with *tasyām*, see §281

§341 And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems

mitro no atra varuno yujyamānah AV *mitro yatra varuno ayyamānah* RV

Double case, the *y* of *yatra* seems as it were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV

yaded (KS *ād vā*) *anlā adadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛnh^o*) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS KS This pāda precedes or (in KS) follows the next, the

words *yad* (*yadā*) and *ād* are transposed in KS owing to the transposition of the two pādas

ād (KS *yad*) *id dyāvāprthivī aprathelām*, same texts See prec
athā (TB * *yathā*, AV MS TB * *yatra*) *devaḥ sadhamādām madema*
(AV *madanti* comm *madema*) AV MS KS TB (all three) ApŚ

Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB

yathā (RV *atho*, VS ŚB *athā*) *na* (RV *ta*) *īndrah kevaliḥ* (VS TS ŚB
īndra id vśah) RV AV VS TS KS ŚB

yathainam jarase nayāt AV *athainam jarimā nayet* HG

Cf also *yasya* (*vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* etc, §363, and *yasyām idam*
vśvam (*vśvam hy asyām*) etc, §386

§342 Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group

vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV VS TS MS KS
PB ŚB 'Born for the *ṛta*' is obviously secondary

sudevam indre asvinā (MS *īndrāyāsv*) VS MS TB As in the last,
a dative is substituted for a locative, both depend on *dadhuh*
in the context

sahasrākṣo (VSK TS KS **kṣa*) *medhāya* (TS KS *medha ā*) *cīyamānah*
VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'For (at) the sacrifice', the latter
probably original Keith on TS 4 2 10 1 translates 'for', his
text seems to require 'at'

graha viśvajānīna nīyanītar viprāyāma te (MS *p p viprāya, male*, KS
nīyanītar vipra ā īsatī) MS KS As in prec, a loc with *ā* varies
with a dat

yo gopā api (TB *gopāyati*) *tam hure* RV AV TB ApŚ

ta ā vahanī (MS *tayāvahante*, KS *tad āharanti*) *kavayah purastāt* TS
MS KS TB See Keith on TS 1 1 2 1 The original reading
probably in TS, Keith thinks that MS may intend the same, with
tay for *te*, altho its Brāhmaṇa explains *tayā* as referring to the
dhiṣanā

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāsmā*°, AŚ *dattāyāsmā*°, corrupt for
dattvā°, SMB *dattūsmā*°) *dravinēha bhadrām* AV KS AŚ SMB
dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadrām MS See §367

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS °te) *kāme asmin* (AV *kāmāyāsmar*) RV AV TS KS

§343 In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily

pāvakayā yaś (TS *pāvaka ā*) *cīlayantīd krpā* RV VS MS KS ŚB Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 453

pāhi gāyandhaso (SV *gā andh°*) *made* RV SV The RV has a regular 2d sing impv pres from *gar*, the SV an aor inj, *gās* Add to VV I §158

pateva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB HG The MS *p p* reads *jarasena*, *ā*, *imam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts

§344 Consider also the following peculiar case
amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ† *ma*) *indra AŚ ŚG apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB *anāmayaedhi mā riśāma indo* Kauś The mss of Kauś read *anāmayedhi*, the emended °*yaidhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for °*ya(h) edhi* 'be free from disease' But the Kauś reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ ŚG, with 'Hiatusstilger' *y* as in §338 Sec Bloomfield's Introduction, p lviii, and cf §78

§345 We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya* The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts *yad dha syā* (AV *sā*) *te panīyasi* RV AV SV TS MS KS

mayi tyad (MS *tad*) *indriyam bṛhat* (KS TB TA *mahat*, MS *vīryam*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ Pratika in MŚ *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss mostly *tād*)

yathā ha tyad (TS ApŚ HG *tad*) *vasavo gauryam cit* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ HG TA AŚ ŚŚ

ā nu tac (SV *tyac*) *chardho divyam vṛnīmahe* RV SV

prati te (AV *tye*) *te ajarāsas tapnīhāh* RV AV

ud it te vasuntāmāh ApŚ *ud u tye* (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ

§346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few

peśasvatī lantunā samvayantī (KS TB °*vyayantī*) MS KS TB Roots *vā* and *vyā*

endram vagnunā vahata PB *vagnunendram hwayata* TB ApŚ (with metathesis of *h*)

§347 We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated

susatyam id gavām asyaṣi pra khudasi ŚŚ *suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV Berlin ed, violently emending the mss which agree precisely with ŚŚ but for the slight corruptions *gavom* and *ṣudasi* *vidad gavyam saramā drdham ūrvam* (TB *ūrvyam*) RV TB But Poona ed of TB has the correct *ūrvam*, text and comm, without *v* *l* *satāsati* (comm *satyasati*) *prayūpatih* TB But Poona ed comm *satāsati*

hiranyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ The corruption may be graphic in nature *prayapsyann va sakthyau* (TB text *sakthau*) TB ApŚ But Poona ed text and comm *sakthyau*, the only possible reading *osiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīṅkosyābhyām* (TA *°kośābhyām*) TS TA *vasiṣṭha-hanuh śiṅgīṅ kosyābhyām* VS Poona ed of TA *°kośyā°* *ayoddheva* (TB *°dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV TB Tho Poona ed has the same reading, it is surely corrupt, perhaps graphic The comm has the same, but explains it as tho *ayoddhā-wa*

3 Presence or absence of *r*

§348 Owing to the rarity of *r* in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance, that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with *y*

§349 We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots, and first, *śravas* and *śavas* and related words *sūro nṛṣṭā śavasaḥ* (SV MS *sra°*) *akānah* (SV *ca ṛkāme*) RV SV TS MS

grnānāh śravase (SV *śa°*) *mahe* RV SV

satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutam śavānāḥ (SV *śravānsi bhūri*) RV AV SV TB

ā yo viśvāni śavasā (SV *śra°*) *tatāna* RV AV SV

śraviṣṭhāh stha MS KS *śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāh* VS ŚB

§350 The roots *dhā* and *dhṛ* and the like, in virtual synonyms

sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe (SV *dadhiṣe*) RV SV

vṛṣā dharmāni dadhiṣe (SV *dadhiṣe*) RV SV TS MS KS ApŚ

yo nah pṛtā janitā yo vidhātā (MS *vidharta*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samdṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS

dauṃyāya dhartre joṣtre (MS *dhātṛe deṣtre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

devayor dharme (MS °*mā*, AV *dhāman*) *asthīran* AV TS MS KS

kṣayasyāsi vidhatah (SV *vidhartā*) RV SV Here *vidhatah* from root *vidh*

§351 Roots *pū* and *pr*

atirātram vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ (KS *vavṣvān pūrta rāvat*, TS *varṣan pūrtaṭ avṛt*) *svāhā* TS MS KS

apālām indra (MG *indras*) *triṣ* (ApMB MG *trih*) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, MG *pūrti* a°, ApMB *pūrtvy* a°) RV AV JB ApMB MG

§352. Roots *prī* and *pā*

śvātrāh pītā (ViDh *śnātāh prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ ViDh

pra vām adhwaryuś carati prayasvān (AV °*tu* *payasvān*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

Comm on AV *prayasvān*

§353 Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words, in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatusilger'

ahim budhnyam (TS °*nyam*) *anu rīyamānāh* (TS *samcarantīh*, MS KS *anv īyamānāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms, note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary, a sort of 'Hiatusilger'? *r* is used in this way in Pāli

antarikṣe pathibhū īyamānah (GB *hīyamānah*, so Gaastra without the *v* l *hīyamānah* recorded in Bibl Ind ed) RV GB The AVPpp 1 107 4 (Barret, JAOS 26 290) has the RV reading, GB perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary Note the final *r* of the preceding word

vanasade (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS MS *vaṭ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §650

mā tvam hārṣih śrutam mayi PG *śrutam me mā pra hārṣih* RVKh 'Take away' 'abandon'

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhya*) *ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB Comm on TA tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jr*)

vikṛida (KS °*da*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *inloḥita* VS TS MS KS See §168

ya rīe (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rīe*, PB † *yakṣate*) *cud abhīsrīṣah* RV AV SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *jarī cetīd abhīsrīṣah* MS (corrupt, see §193)

jāgrtsyas (mss, v l *yā gr*°) *tripaṇcāśih* AV *yā(h) kṛccrās tri*° AVPpp See §§185, 192

śunam ma iṣṭam śunam śāntam (p p *śrāntam*) MS *svam ma* (AB *ma idam*) *iṣṭam svam śrāntam* (TB text *śrātam*, Poona ed *śrāntam*) AB TB ApŚ *svam ma iṣṭam astu śunam śāntam*
KS

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm (KS *bṛhaspatīm*) *śronitah* (KS *śonitāś*, Conc suggests reading *śro*°) VS KS

prthivi bhūvārī (KS *vbhū*°) *śinwāly urandhra* (KS *uramdha*) *ācittē*

KS ApŚ An obscure epithet of earth, perhaps belongs in §350
agne 'dabdhāyo 'śritatano pāhi vidyot KS *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śritatano pāhi mādyā divah* TS TB ApŚ *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śritama pāhi mā didyoh* VS ŚB In KS, apparently the original, 'having uninjured body', TS, 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect fac VS has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable, comm either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory

vi jhīṣva lokam kṛnu AV *vi jhīṣva lokān kṛdhī* TA The AV is original 'go apart (root *hā*), make room' TA comm takes it as desiderative from *hṛ* (*vihartum icha*), which would require *jhīṣvasva anādhrīṣam sahasyam* (TS KS *saahasriyam*) *saahasvat* TS MS KS AŚ 'Thousandfold mighty', probably original 'powerful and mighty', lect fac

yo agnīh kravyavāhanah (VS KS *kavya*°) RV VS KS AŚ *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS Euphemistic change of *kravya*° to *kavya*°

yata āttas (AŚ *ārttas*) *tad agan punah* TS AŚ 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned' AŚ mere blunder or misprint

prati vastor aha (AV * *ahar*) *dyubhih* RV AV (both) SV ArS VS KS ŚB *praty asya vaha dyubhih* TS The comm on AV has *aha*, *ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhih*

apām tvā sadhrīṣi (MS † *sadhrīṣu*) *sādavāmi* VS MS KS ŚB *sadhrīṣ-i*, 'in the seat', *sadhrīṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS 4 3 1 1) perhaps with thought of RV *sadhrī*

anābho mṛda dhūrta (MS °*te*, v 1 °*ta*) MS MŚ *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApŚ See §749

śam no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo RV GB AŚ Vait MŚ According to Gaastra, all his mss read *indro* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text

ā na indra (and, *indo*) *mahīm iṣam* RV (both)

vyṛddhyā apagalbham (TB *apra*°, but Poona ed text and comm *apa*°)

VS TB Probably mere misprint

* *potrāgnādhro* (read with Gaastra *potā*) *nihilam pādām ekam* GB

§354 The following involve different word-divisions

yasya (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim patireto grbhāya* (ApMB HG *prati reto grhāna*) ŚG HG ApMB

āyuhpati rathamtaram (MŚ *āyuh prathirath*) *tad āsiya* etc ApŚ MŚ
The latter corrupt

yena bhūyāś (PG *bhūriś*) *carāty* (MS *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, corrupt, PG *carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

tan mā jnva (KS *mārjivā*) TS MS KS 'Quicken me' 'cleansing it'
sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan AV *sarvāh sarvā* (p p *sah, sarvāh*)
vi caratu prajānan MS The latter carelessly assimilates to the following *sarvāh*

mā mā yūnarvā hāsī (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms obscure

agnir hotrenedam (ŚŚ *hotrena*) *havir ajuṣata* MS ŚŚ *agnihotrenedam havir* TB AŚ But *agnir ho* must certainly be read in all texts, with Poona ed of TB

ud varśam va yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham va menire* Mbh

§355 In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically
ūrdhvacitah (MS KS *śritah*) *śrayadhvam* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

See §195

svām tanvām (*tanuvām*) *varuno 'suṣot* (TS TB *asīret*) TS MS KS TB
See §287

pred u harivah śrutasya (SV *sutasya*) RV SV TS See §278

trīṣṭu (AŚ *trīśru*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*)
KS TB TA AŚ See §145

śivā rutasya (TS and v 1 of MS *rudrasya*, VSK *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS *ja*) VS VSK TS MS KS See §684

apūtapā ādhūyamānah TS *viṣnur āpūtapā āpyāyāmānah* VS 'Drinker of unpurified (soma)' 'protecting when propitiated (?)'

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmīyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ApŚ ŚŚ
See §228

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād durtād avartyan* (AV *avadyāt*) AV PB ApMB See §60

anu dāha sahamūrān kravyādah (SV *kayādah*) RV SV *sahamūrān anu dāha kravyādah* AV Benfey explains the SV form as from *kaya* = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating' This would imply metric shortening of *ā* to *a* There may be involved euphemistic avoidance of the word *kravyād*, as in *kravyavāhana kavya*, §353

ā sutrāṇe (MS KS *bhūyīṣṭhādāṇe*) *sumatīm āvṛnānah* AV MS KS *
oṣīṣṭhādāṇe sumatīm grṇānāh TS It is likely that the original
form was *āsutrāṇe*, cf Whitney on AV 19 42 3 The TS form,
tho impeccable, is secondary

§356 Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative
elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion
ghṛtam duhata (RV * *duhrata*) *āśīram* RV (both) SV See *RVRep*
137, 562, and VV I p 169

te dakṣinām duhate (AV *te duhrate dakṣinām*) *saptamātaram* RV AV
See VV I, 1 c

utainam (NīlarU *uta tvā*) *gopā adṛśan* (TS NīlarU *adṛśan*) VS TS
MS KS NīlarU See VV I p 170 Followed by

adṛśann (TS † *adṛśann*) *udahāryah* VS TS See *ibid*

apa snehitīr (SV *snihitīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛma-*
nām adadhrām) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi* (Poona ed *snuhi*)
tam nṛmnām athadrām TA See §110, and VV I p 170

sarasvatyā (AV **yām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v 1 *manā*, SMB *vanāva*,
but Jorgensen *manāv*, AV *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS and SMB
Jorg *acak*°, SMB Conc *carkṛdhi*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB
PG The KS also has v 1 *acark*°, which perhaps should be read
thruout Jorgensen assumes dissimilation, see VV I p 149

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rīre*,
VV I p 170, and *ghṛtam mīmikṣe* (TA **kṣīre*) *ghṛtam asya yonih* RV
VS TA, *ibid* p 214

§357 Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or
inflexional syllables of nouns These cases belong to noun formation or
inflexion It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those
listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group In these,
especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected, cf
the similar cases with *y*, §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant
Groups below

bhūri śastam (SV *sastram*) *pṛthuh svaruh* RV SV VS Synonyms,
but here the form without *r* is older

atīviddhā vithurenā cid astrā (MS *astāh*) RV MS KS The MS is
secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption

na kir devā munīmasi RV *na ki devā nīmasi* SV Anomalous reduc-
tion of *na-kī* to *na-ki*

sūro rathasya naptiyah (ArS *naptryah*, TB *naptriyah*) RV AV ArS
KS TB Feminine stems *napṛī* and *naptrī*, the latter influenced
by *naptar*

tvaṣṭimatī (TA Conc *tvaṣṭri*°, which is a v l in Poona ed, its text *tvaṣṭri*°) *te sapeya* TS ApŚ TA *tvaṣṭrimantas* (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The MS MŚ ApŚ forms are Prakritic in vocalism In the Tait school form, which concerns us here, the stem *tvaṣṭr* is, as it were, feminized Add to VV I §345

praty elā vāmā prathṣṭhotopavaktar (ŚŚ °vakta, v l °vaktar) *uta* KB ŚŚ *praty elā sunvan prathṣṭhotopavaktar uta* AŚ The form can only be construed as nom , °vakta, if it is intended, must stand for °vaktā with partial sandhi (ā shortened, §991) But it looks as if all texts intended °vaktar Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ , p 252 note, suggests that ru is a bad writing for u, but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error Is r a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatusstilger, as in Pāli? Cf the first variant in §353 Or is °vaktar used as nom? Cf the nom neut (?) forms in -larī, Wackernagel III p 205 supra

viśvā amivāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih (KS °ṣebhyah) AV KS *viśvā āsāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhuyah* VS TS See §783

vaptā (ApMB *vaptṛā*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapasī* (PG °ti) *keśasmasru* (AG PG MG *keśān*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG *vaptṛā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā slotrasya slotram gamyāt* PB Synonyms

matyar śrutāya (mahe srotṛāya) *cakṣase* AV (both)

gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA °tā, MS °trā) *vāt* (MS *vet*, TA *vat*)

VS MS TA ŚB *yajata* (°tā) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB HG See §818

agner agneyāny (KS *agniyāny*) *asī* (one ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asī*) MS KS *devānām agneyāny asī* TS *agner yāny asī* TS MS KS ApŚ MS *agneyānī*, certainly the true reading of TS and probably of MS , is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case KS has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary

bṛhaspatisutasya (TS MS add *ta*, VS VSK ŚB add *deva soma ta*) *inda* (TS *indo*, VS ŚB *indor*) *indriyāvatah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Gen voc

sa viśvācīr (KS °cī) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh* (KS °cī) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The KS changes an accus plur, with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasī* in the preceding pāda *devī dvārau* (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samlāptam* TS AŚ Vait Cf prec , and §732

asmadrātā madhumatīr (KS °tī) MS KS ŚŚ and others, §800
gaurīr (°rī) *māmāya* , see §545

4 Presence or absence of *v*

§358 Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf Wackernagel I §232c) Among the variants they are fairly numerous Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§338-44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§353) As with those sounds, however, the form with *v* is not by any means always secondary in text history

v initial before a vowel

§359 Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *r̥ṣabha* and *vr̥ṣabha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel But this is by no means universal

vr̥ṣabhena (TS *r̥ṣ°*) *tvaṣtā* TS KS This is an instructive case, it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS , in a consonant in TS We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS begins with *v*-

vatso virājo vr̥ṣabho matinām AV *pitā virājām r̥ṣabho rayīnām* TB Observe that *r̥ṣ-* is preceded by a final -*m*, *vr̥ṣ-* by a final vowel It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236)

vr̥ṣabhena (TS *r̥ṣ°*) *gāh* (KS *gāvah*) TS KS KSA The single ms of KSA has corruptly *asvā-vr̥ṣa°*, which Von Schroeder emends to *asvān vr̥°*, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS reading (*asvān r̥ṣ°*) should be adopted

vr̥ṣabham (VS * *r̥ṣ°*) *naryāpasam* RV AV SV VS (both) MS TB Here preceded by a consonant

r̥ṣabhāya (MS *vr̥ṣ°*) *gawayī* (TS KSA *rājne gawayah*) VS TS MS KSA A consonant precedes

r̥ṣabho (KS *vr̥°*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS TB A consonant precedes

vr̥ṣabho 'sī *svargah* AV *r̥ṣabho* 'sī *svargo lokah* TB Initial in verse
kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ 'ham) *rūpam vr̥ṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam r̥ṣ*)
rocate bṛhat (VSK *bṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
astabhnād dyām vr̥ṣabho (TS MS *dyām r̥ṣ*) *antarīkṣam* RV VS TS
 MS ŚB TB KŚ

bṛhad r̥ṣabham (TB *vr̥*°, but Poona ed text and comm *r̥*°) *gām vayo*
dadhat VS TB

śākvarā (LŚ *ye śāk*°) *r̥ṣabhā* (AV *vr̥ṣ*°) *ye svarājah* AV LŚ Note the
 vowel preceding

rathe akṣeṣu r̥ṣabhasya (KS TB 'ṣu *vr̥*°, so AV comm, and so Ppp
 intends, Barret, JAOS 30 204) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣu akṣeṣu*
vr̥ṣabharājāh VīDh

§360. There are no other forms with and without *v* that are precisely
 identical in meaning But we find a considerable number of other cases
 of presence or absence of initial *v* before a vowel, in many of which the
 preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the
 tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play
 their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary,
 reversing the direction of the process

te ar̥ṣantu te var̥ṣantu LŚ *te var̥ṣanti te var̥ṣayanti* AV Roots
ar̥ṣ 'rush' and *var̥ṣ* 'rain' One is inclined to suspect assimilation
 to the following *var̥ṣ-* in AV

r̥jūte (KS *vr̥j*°) *pari vr̥ñdhi nah* RV VS TS MS KSA ApŚ Initial
 in the verse Von Schroeder says on KSA, 'wohl fehlerhalt für
r̥jūte' Perhaps assimilated to the following *vr̥ñdhi*

śalmalir vr̥ddhyā (KSA *r̥ddhyā*) VS TS KSA ŚB Synonyms

agne vājayād vāyam tvā VS ŚB TB Vait ApŚ *ājnam tvāgne* MŚ
 Synonyms since earliest times Note preceding vowel before *vāja*°

varenyakratūr (AV 'tur, ApŚ *idenya*°) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ *vire-*
nyah kratur indrah suśastah RV

hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS 'nam) *vikṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dīkṣv*) *agnim*
 RV VS † TS † MS KS ŚB † For the RV original is substituted
vikṣv after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatusulger' *v* and other
 phonetic changes (cf especially §153a) On MS see §869 (a
 further, graphic change)

tad āyuh (ApŚ *vāyuh*) MS KS ApŚ 'That is life (wind, breath)'.
asum (AV TS *vasum*) *gharmam divam* (VS *sva*) *ā tīṣṭhatānu* (AV
rohatānu) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *asu* 'life' *vasu* 'weal' (with
 ungrammatical *m*), preceded by vowel, *asu* is original, as shown by
 RV 10 14 12, 15 1 (cf 10 15 9, 10)

devā gātuvīdo gātum vītvā (VSK *gātum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB TB Cf *gātum vītvā gātum ihi* MS ApŚ, *devā gātuvīdo* (MŚ adds *gātum vītvā*) *gātum yayñdya vīdata* TB ApŚ MŚ 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original, VSK assimilates to the following *ita*

tve iṣah (KS *vīkve*, MS *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrvāpasah* (TS † *bhūrvetasah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŠB On MS see §694 KS clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *v* between vowels

dhṛṣṇe vīdū (VS VSK *vīdvī*, KS *vīte*, MS MŚ *īdite*) *satī* (MS KS MŚ omit) *vidayethām* (MS MŚ *īdethām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB ApŚ MŚ See §169

tigṃam anīkam viditam sahasvat AV *tigṃam āyudham viditam* (KS 'dham *īditam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS 'Implored' of KS is secondary to 'strong', AV is still farther afield, see §169

yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt (KS *anu*?) RV KS ApŚ 'Who fights against us' KS seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us' Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger' KapS *vanuṣyā*

namo vidhryāya (MS *vidhryāya*, p p *vidhryāya*, TS *nama idhryāya*) *cālapya ca* VS TS MS KS Both forms are obscure, TS probably secondary See Keith's note

iśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase (SV *īyase*) RV SV Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV, reverse of 'Hiatusstilger' with a vengeance!

mahīva dyaur adha (AV *vadha*) *tmanā* RV AV *vadhatmānā* (sic) not divided in p p, and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption, he translates the RV Still, the AV may be rendered 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'

ahar (MS *vahad*) *dvābhir* (MS *dvyābhir*) *ūtibhih* VS MS ŠB TA ŚŚ LŚ *ahar*, adverb 'by day' One ms of MS with p p *vahad* (*d* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a), preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatusstilger'

vīśām vavarjuṣīdām (AV *vīśām avar*?) RV AV The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhus*)', Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 275 The AV uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation, the initial *a-* must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*vṛj* = *pari-vṛj* as in Classical Skt) Cf Whitney ad loc The retention of the perfect pple form shows the badness of the AV

mahi no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma*
RV Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'

abhūr āpīnām (HG °nām, AV mss *v āpi°*) *abhīkṣastīpāvā* (AV °pā u)
AV HG ApMB Others, §46

ramayata (KS °tā) *marutah syenam āyinaṃ* (MŚ *marutah pretam*
vājinam) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

mā tvā ke cin nu (AV *cū fū*) *yemur vim* (SV *cin nu yemur in*, TA *cin*
nyemur in) *na pāśinah* RV SV AV VS TA *vim*, acc of *vi*,
secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (*id*)

vidvīr yāmann avardhayan VS *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB (Conc)

But Poona ed of TB has correctly *yāmann avar°*

§361 In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v*
(after a vowel, 'Hiatusstilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*
pro ārata (TB 'vārata) *maruto durmadā va* RV TB 'Rush along,
Maruts, like madmen' Comm on TB *avārata dhāvata*

uruṣya rāya eṣo (VSK *rāyo 'veṣo*, i e *ava*, iṣo, TS MS KS *rāyah sam*
iṣo) *yajyasva* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *ava-yaj* 'remove by sacrifice'
with object *iṣo*, is peculiarly inept

§362 A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this
category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word

agninendrena somena upa te huve savāham (KSA *huve 'sā aham*)

TS KSA 'I summon for thee, O offering' 'I, so and so (*asau*
'N N'), summon for thee' If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA
is original, the TS reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatusstilger', yielding
a different lexical result The same with *brāhmanān itvijo devān*
iṣṭena pakvam , *devān sendrān*

añkāñkam (MS *añkāṇ-añkam*, so divided in p p, KS *añkāñkam*)
chandah VS TS MS KS ŚB Nothing is known of the original
form or meaning of this word (said by comms to mean 'water'),
note the curious KS variant, with short *a* It may be that MS
has a kind of 'Hiatusstilger' with its *v*

v initial before a consonant

§363 So far initial *v* before a vowel In a few cases the same *v*
appears or disappears before an initial consonant

reṣīnām (VS ŚB *vre°*) *tvā patnann ādhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ
reṣīṣu (sc *te śukra śukram ādhūnomi*) TS An epithet of water, of
unknown etymology and meaning, *v-* presumably unoriginal

agne yajyasva (AV *vyacasva*) *rodasī urūci* RV AV MS See §57
apūrvnod duro asmavrajānām (MS *asmad-rathānām*, p p *asmīn*, *ra°*)

RV MS TA The MS is hardly interpretable

yasya (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonam prati reto grhāna* (ŚG *patireto grbhāya*)
 ŚG ApMB HG Cf §354 *vy asya* 'open' must be intended,
yasya makes no sense

v not initial

§364 Coming to non-initial *v*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes *sva-* and *sa-* vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741

satavasemam (KS *sva*°) *yajñam divi deveṣu dhātām* MS KS TB

sūro na svayugvabhīh (SV *sayu*°) RV SV

viśvā dveṣānsi tarati svayugvabhīh (SV *sayu*°) RV SV Better meter in RV (anapest after cesura)

indra svayugbhīr matsveha (ApŚ *sayugbhīr didyun na matsvā madūya*)
mahe ranāya AV ApŚ

yajño bhūtā yajñam āśida sakṣaya (MŚ *svakṣaya*) *ehi* TB ApŚ MŚ

§365 There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *tv-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-*. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *tv-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *kā* (both from the interrogative stem)

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam ut RV *tvām arbhasya haviṣah samānam ut* SV KS TB ApŚ Followed by

tam in mahe vṛnate nānyam tvaṭ RV *tvām maho vṛnate* (TB ApŚ *vṛnate naro*) *nānyam tvaṭ*, same texts

tam (TA *tvam*) *u nūr vāpayā punah* RV TA

tvām (MS *tām*) *śasvanta* (MS °*tā*) *upa yanti vājāh* RV SV VS TS MS KS

paramām tam (TB ApŚ *tvā*) *parāvataṃ* AV TB ApŚ

etaṭ tvātra pratimanvāno (AŚ °*vanvāno*) *asmu* (AŚ *ṛasmu*) VS AŚ ŚŚ Vait *etaṭ tām pratimanvāno asmin* LŚ

yā tām rātrīm upāsmahe PG *yām tvā rātry upāsmahe* (TS *upāsate*, SMB *rātri yajāmahe*) AV TS SMB *ye tvā rātry* (MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS MG

tvam gopāya MG *tam gopāya* etc, see Cone

prajāyay mṛtyave tvat (TA *tat*) RV TA Here the stem *tva-* is not the 2d personal pronoun

tayānantam (MŚ *twayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ *lokam*) *aham jayāni* (MŚ °*me*)
AŚ † ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB

tayā (ApMB *twayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °*tu*, v 1 °*tu*)
ApMB HG

tayāham (MS *twayā*°) *śāntiyā śāntīm karomi* MS TA *tābhīh*
śāntībīhīh śamayāmy aham AV

twayā (TAA 10 1 9 *tayā*) *hatena pāpena* TA TAA † MahānU

yajuryuktam sāmabhir āktakham ~~tvā~~ (MS *ṛktakham tā*) MS TA The words are bad enough in either case MS p p *ṛkta-khām, tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic, *ṛktakham* is not in any lexicon. But *āktakham* is little better TA comm *āktāny āpyāyūtāni khānīndriyāny avayavā yasya pravargyasya* so 'yam āktakhas tādṛsam, sāmagaṇena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati' (!)—Boehlingk, p w 2 293, 'dessen Buchse geschmiert ist'

puras tvā (ŚŚ *purastāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB ŚŚ Here *-tāt* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun. The sense requires object *tvā*. Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff) in the secondary ŚŚ *yat tvemahe* (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taḥ*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB All mss and comm of SMB agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading. Comm, unbelievably *te tvām* (!) *yat phalam mahe* (!) *tan no* 'smabhyam juṣasva prayachety arthah

kva (SV *kā*) *pratnā va āhutiḥ* RV SV

§366 Further, *v* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without *v*. Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf VV I p 121

deva twaṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB (In MS *rane* is a noun)

āpas tvā sam arinan (MS *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB *āpah sam arinan*
TS KS

manas (MS *manve*) *nu babhṛnām aham* RV VS MS KS ŚB N See VV I pp 76, 121

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated

jananta (SV *ḡnanta*) *uṣaso bhagam* RV SV

§367 Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvī*) and other forms lacking *v*, but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption

asya pītā (SV *pītā*) *svarṇdah* RV SV Lect fac in SV for *pītā*, loc sing of *pīti*, 'in the drinking of it'

yenendro hanṣā kṛtvī (ApMB *kṛtī*) RV ApMB The ApMB form (v 1 *kṛtvī*) may be interpreted as nom sg of *kṛtin*, but is doubtless corrupt It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff), the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kṛt(v)y-a-*

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattāyāśma*°, AŚ *dattāyāśma*°, corrupt for *dattā*°, SMB *dattāśma*°) *dravneha bhadrām* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravnam yac ca bhadram* MS* 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity'

hotā viśāmena (ŚŚ *viśtvī me*) *jaritar* AV 20 135 5, AŚ + 8 3 24, ŚŚ Vait This pāda is omitted in the Berlin ed of AV and therefore in Conc Most ŚŚ mss *viśfi*, per contra, v 1 of AV *viśtvī* It is very obscure in any case

daśasyantāmṛtāya (ApMB °*twāmṛtāya*) *kaṁ* RV ApMB The ApMB form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple, but may fairly be called corrupt, cf Winternitz, p xx

yuktā (TB Conc *yuktā*, Poona ed text and comm correctly *yuktā*) *harī vṛṣanā yāhy arvān* (MS KS *arvāk*) RV MS KS TB

apālām indīa (MG °*ias*) *triṣ (trih) pūtvī* (AV °*vā*, ApMB *pūrtvī*, MG *pūrtvī a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG The last seems clearly corrupt [*indrah pāśena* †*siktā vah* ApMB *indrah pāśena vah* †*siktā* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG *indrapāśena sītā* PG The true reading is *sītā*]

§368 A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes

madhu (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV These alternative forms of gen sing of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhvah madhch*, see Conc p 681a

ed u madhu (SV PB *madhor*) *madāntaram* RV AV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ *vaso vasoh puruṣpṛhah* RV *vasor vaso puruṣpṛhah* SV

asammṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh (TB *mātrvoh*) *suṁh* RV TB With *mātrvoh*, guaranteed by all mss and Vaidikas, cf perhaps *pitṛvya*, and note that *mātroh* in RV is trisyllabic

mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām SV *tanūr varṣṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS Root *gah*, with different suffixes

gambhīrah pathibhah pūrvyah (AV *pūryānah*) AV TS HG The AV is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification Cf next

prehu-prehu pathubhah pūrvyebhah (AV *pūryānāh*) RV AV MS AŚ
AG Cf prec

aprajāstām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajāstvam mātavatsam* AV
Others, §650 Suffixes *tā* and *tva*

§369 Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf Wackernagel I §232c.

saumyās trayah śvintīgāh (KSA *śi°*) TS KSA

With *śvit-* and *śit-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cit-*, see §195

citra (VS *śvitra*) *ādityānām* VS MS

citro (AV *śvetro*) *rakṣitā* AV MS

§370 After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff below

śiśūle śṛṅge rakṣase (AV *rakṣobhyo*) *vi nikhṣe* (KS *nakṣe*, AV mss *nikṣve*),
RV AV TS MS KS The Berlin ed and Whitney's translation adopt the RV reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa*. See Whitney's note, which points out that *nnikṣva* occurs in the next verse

dhuñkṣāgne yī (VSK **ṣvā°* or **ṣyā°*) VS VSK MS And others, see §255

svarṣām (TB *suvar°*) *apsām* (TB Poona ed, twice, *ṭapsvām*, in text and comm) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB *apsvām* is uninterpretable

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS *dhana°*, TS **yud*, KSA **yed*) *dhūmagandhiv*
RV VS TS MS KSA The text of MS is based on p p, the samh mss are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*tvāgnir vunaiddhamagandhir*). It seems that *vu* in these mss is a graphic corruption for *dhva*, which should probably be read in MS as in the other texts

§371 After or before single consonants, a miscellaneous group
āpo devīh svadantu (VSK *sad°*) *svāttam cit sad devahavīh* VS VSK ŚB
svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu MS *svāttam cit sad devam havyam āpo devīh svadatarnam* TS ApŚ The reading of VSK is poor (cf *svāttam*). Cf next

em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu (MS *svad°*) MS KS TB
Here *svad°* does not belong, the reverse of the prec

aparīhvṛtāh (MS **hṛtāh*) *sanuyāma vājam* RV MS KS Intended for synonyms, MS slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption
tuvidyumnām vibhvasaham (SV *vibhā°*) RV SV *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhva*

(for 'van) 'excellent' Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory' *apām rasam udayasam* (KS *udayansam*, TA *udayansan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing', KS and TA a verb form, which in TA is 3 plur aor of *ud-yam* KS may intend the same with *udayanśam* followed by *s*, but in VV I p 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing *visvam tu vāhulayah sarvā yatra brahmā visvāmṣto 'sī* PrānāgU *visvantu tvām āhulayas ca sarvāḥ prajāś tatra yatra visvāmṣto 'sī* MU The Conc says, 'read *visantu*' for both In the Poona ed (*Upaniṣadām Samuccayah*, An Skt Ser, 1895), the MU passage (p 406) reads *visantu* in text and comm, but the PrānāgU (p 307), *visvam tu* in both Certainly *visantu* must be read

anvitr asī dive TS KS JB PB Vait *anvitr asī* GB The Conc calls the latter a 'blunder', yet, curiously, Gaastra also has *anvitr mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām* (MS 'hnā) *cikitnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *ṇgatnū*, AŚ *cikitvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45 The AŚ form is difficult and suspicious

satyaṇṇasā dṛṇhanā (MS *durhṇā*, KS † *dṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS KS *sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV See §305

vande dārum vandamāno vivakm RV *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣtu* SV See VV I p 218

anu daha sahamūrān kravyādah (SV *kayādah*) RV SV *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādah* AV See §355

anukāśena bāhyam MS *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS *antarenānūkāsam* TS KSA The VS reading is apparently a blunder, comm reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows

§371a One anomalous case involving false word-division

uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi TS MS KS TB *pururāno deva* etc VS ŚB LŚ The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility' The Vāj reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption Eggeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning, but Mahidhara derives *rāvan* from *rā* 'give'

5 Presence or absence of s

§372 Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s* Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spaś* *paś*, *kṛ* *skṛ*, etc.) See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi).

§373 Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially.

§374 Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *k*, *t*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word.

sa prathamah samkṛtir viśvakarmā TS TB ApŚ *sā* (MS MŚ *yā*) *prathamā samskṛtir viśvavārā* (MS *yajñe asmin*) VS MS ŚB (Pratīka, MŚ). The root *kṛ* regularly appears as *skṛ* with *sam*, so that the Tait form is irregular.

ut te stabhnāmi (TA *tabhnomi*) *prthwīm tvaḥ parī* RV AV TA Cf Whitney §233c. In TA this law operates in spite of tmesis, this is not without parallel.

tegān (TS TB ApŚ *stegān*) *danṣtrābhyām* VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV has *stega*. Perhaps the root *tij* (originally *stij*) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS MS KSA the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS *sa im* (TS *ī*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt, at least they are all difficult. But note *starīman* in MS (*tarī* AV).

§375 The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned, and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds.
dīvaḥ samsprśas (MS *sampsṛcas*) *pāhi* VS MS ŚB. And

prthwyāh sampṛcas (TS TB ApŚ °cah, VS ŚB *samspr̥sas*) *pāhu* VS TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *saṁ-pṛc* and *saṁ-spr̥s*, practically synonyms See §195

divam agreṇāspr̥kṣah †VSK, wrongly quoted in Conc as °*āpr̥kṣah* *divam agreṇāspr̥kṣat* (TB °*āprāt*) VS TB And others

viśvā spr̥dho (AV *m̐rdho*) *abhūmāt̐r jayema* RV AV TA.

āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu (AV *spr̥śantām*, Ppp [Roth] *viśanta*, TA *m̐śantām*) RV AV TA

yatrāspr̥kṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvam yatra vāsah* HG

sa bhūmam viśvato (ArŚ *sarvato*, VS *sarvata*) *vṛtvā* (VS *spr̥tvā*) RV ArŚ AV VS TA See §200

tuttho 'sī janadhāyāh (PB °*yah*) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ *stuto 'sī janadhāh* TB ApŚ See §93

samsrāvabhāgā (VS ŚB *samsrava*°, MS °*gāh*, KS Kauś °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *tanṣā*) *brhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś See §§96, 747

§376 Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms), the rest is sporadic *ajoṣā* (SV *saḥ*) *vṛṣabham patim* RV AV SV *ajoṣa* 'unersattlich, gierig' *sacetasāv* (VSK °*sā*) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB *sacetasau saretasau* TB And others, see §180

ā (VaradapU *sā*) *nah sṛṇvann ūtibhiḥ sīda sādhanam* (VaradapU *saśvat*) RV TS KS VaradapU The comm is hard put to it to explain *sā*, he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening It is in fact inexplicable

yāvā ayāvā ūmā abdah (KS *yāvā āyāvā ūmā † evā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah* MS KS MŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS The form *sabda* of TS, for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure, doubtless due to some analogy

anāgasō yathā sadam it saṁ kṣiyema Vait *anāgasō adham it saṁkṣayema* TB See §110

§377 The very few cases of evanescent medial *s* are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma bhūyāma*), which are found in Vv I §175 and are not repeated here *agnir no vanate* (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *varsate*) *rayem* RV SV VSK TS MS KS Present and *s-sorist*

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (MS KS °*vāno bhūyāma*) AV MS KS *tasyās te bhakṣivānāh syāma* (MS KS ApŚ 4 13 † *bhaktivāno bhūyāma*) MS KS TB ApŚ (both) Suffixes *vans* and *van*

6 Presence or absence of visarga

§378 This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings), and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter, and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like, some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379 In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *h* vary with corresponding forms without *h*, a fairly frequent phenomenon

pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*, Poona ed *tira*) AV VS TS MS
KS TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ
sūryasya tapas tapu (MS MŚ *tapuh*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ
ni dūrasravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*, em, mss *mahah*) AV ŚŚ
nyudbhīr (AV *vyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *īha tā vi muñca*
(ŚŚ *†muñcah*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Add to
VV I §25

viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA *°yah*) RV TA
tāv imā upa sarpatah SV JB *emām anu sarpata* MS
agne vittād dhavīṣo yad yujāma (TB *°mah*) RV TB
aśvinā bhīṣajāvatah (MS *°tam*, TB *†ta*, both edd) VS MS TB
anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra*) *saścima* (TA *°mah*, RV *sascire*) RV VS
MS ŚB TA (corrupt)
prati bhāgam na dīdhima (SV *°mah*) RV AV SV VS N
viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG
abhīratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BrhPDh Here, in late
texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation
(*smah sma-ha*)

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ
tav saha (VS ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah* *prasārayāvahat* (ŚB *°yāva*, MS
°yāvah) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ
viśvāh pinvathah (TB *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm
°thah in Bibl Ind ed, but Poona ed *°tha*) This is probably only
a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant, cf §978 ff

ata ū šu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS . *adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhih* RV SV AV AA MŚ See VV I p 101

agne (MS *agnar*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (MS *voca*) RV SV MS TA Add to VV I §§25, 156

sam agnis tapasāgata VS MS ŚB (preceded by *svāhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS edition separated by a mark of punctuation) *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* (**gatah*, Poona ed *gata*) TA * As ppl *gatah* is defensible See VV I p 161

varebhir varān abhi šu prasīdatah (ApMB *pra sīdata*) RV ApMB A participle (gen sing, Grassmann, acc pl, Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur in ApMB

iha rama (HG *†ramah*) MS AB AŚ ApŚ HG Here *ramah* is a noun form

§380 In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms

punar āgāh punarnava (AV °*nava* and °*navah*) RV AV (bis)

nicerur asī nicumpunah (TS TB *nicanākuna*, MS KS *nicanākunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ Vocative in TS TB by assimilation to an adjoining formula, see §150

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (MG °*nā*, ApMB HG °*nāv*) *adhi roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Here the nom is secondary

agne ghṛtenāhuta (KS °*tah*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ

yajñah praty u śthāt (KS *pratyāśthāt*, v 1 *praty u*°, MŚ adds *sumatau matinām*) KS MŚ *yajña pratīṣṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB ApŚ

indrah (indra) *somasya pītaye* (also °*ye vṛśāyate*) RV (all three)

indra (MS *indrah*) *somena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS °*dasenaṇṇah*) TS MS KS AŚ

paramajyā ṛcīṣamah (SV *† °ma*) RV SV AV

devebhyo (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* (RV * °*na*) RV (both) ApŚ

sahasrākṣo amartyah AV *sahasrākṣāyamartya* AV

pavamānah (SV °*na*) *samtanam eṣi kṛṇvan* RV SV

tvaṣtā devaḥ sahamāna indrah MG *tvaṣtar devebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB

yo agnih kravyavāhanah (VS KS *kavya*°) RV VS KS AŚ *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS See §353

hiranyapakṣah śakunih HG *hiranyaparna śakune* PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU

subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB *suwīrinah sṛja-sṛja* HG The latter is doubtless corrupt, a voc is required

indra kratvā (MS *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vāśāma* RV MS KS See §664

ayā somah (SV *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV SV See VV I §328

ā tṛṣṭha mitravardhana (KS TB † ApŚ † ^o*nah*) AV KS TB ApŚ

āprno ^o*si sampṛnah* (ApŚ *āprnoṣi sampṛna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is secondary and poor

indra karmasu no 'vata VS KS *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but read *indra 'vata*, see VV I p 260)

indra (MS *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV MS The nom is hardly construable

indrah (SV PB *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ

indra (MS *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV MS KS

kāmena kṛtāh (RV and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānah* RV MS TB

tṛṣṭhā ratnam (TB *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB ^o*tah*) RV VS ŚB TB

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ The nom is not construable, see Knauer's note

mitra satyānām pale (ŚŚ *satyānām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ *mitrah satyānām* (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG

vśvā (KS PG *vśvāś ca*) †*deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣya* (KS ^o*ṣyāh*, PG † ^o*ṣyak*) KS TB ApŚ PG HG

vṛkhiṇām medha (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānah* TB ApŚ MŚ

buddho mamaddhi somyah (SV *somya*) RV SV

sajoṣā indra (TB *indrah*) *sagano marudbhīh* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ

§381 In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified, sometimes involving different but related stems

pībāt somam amadann (AV *somam mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayah* (AV *iṣṭe*)

AV AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 88, loc sing of *iṣṭa* nom pl of *iṣṭi* *ghṛtvatī savitar* (MS KS ^o*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS ^o*yatih*) TS MS KS AŚ

Loc sing instr pl Cf §706

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV * *vārah*) *pari priyah* (and *priyam*) RV SV As prec

candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāh (KS TB comm and Poona ed ^o*nā*) VS KS TB *sukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā* MS (but p p ^o*nāh*)

The plural agrees with *aśvinā* and *sarasvatī* together as subject, the fem sing with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu RVKh *bhūmadṛgham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmadṛgho 'cyutaś cyāvayīṣnuh* AV Change of

gender, neuter to masculine, the latter certainly secondary, see §268

sa viśvācīr (KS °cī) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh* (KS °cī) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Change of acc pl to dual, explained in §357 But the actual reading is *ghr̥tācīr* (before initial vowel following)

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV (taken by Whitney as loc plur) *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS (apparently felt as 'nom sing) And others, all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt, see §374

samhitāsi viśvarūpā (VS ŚB ŚŚ °pī, TS ApŚ * °pīh) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis) In TS the old nom fem of the *vr̥kīś* type

khaṇḍāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB *bajābojopakāśinī* HG Both words unintelligible, §69 Perhaps *h* in ApMB ending of *vr̥kīś* type *anāhanasyam vasanam carīṣṇu* (ApMB HG *ja*°, PG *jarīṣṇuh*) ŚG PG ApMB HG See §57 The nom masc transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject

yenā samatsu sāśahah (SV °hīh, MŚ °hī) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ See §594

aghadviṣṭā devajūtā AV Kauś *atharvyaṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ In AV nom sing fem In ApŚ, which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °jūtā followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing, but the verb is plural, and the Conc gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom plur)

sīrāh (TS MS KS *sarāh*, AV *sarā*) *pataṭrinī* (TS MS KS °nīh) *sthana* (KS *stha*, AV *bhūtā*) RV AV VS TS MS KS Sing in AV, plur in the others

ya ābābhūva (PB āva°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*!, comm *viśvāni*) VS JB PB ŚŚ Vait *viśvāh* is certainly wrong

viruc chapathayopanī AV *vidu chapathayambhanīh* ApŚ (corrupt, Caland adopts the AV reading) See §272

uta vām uṣaso budhi RV GB Conc *budhih* for GB, and so all mss apparently read, but Gastra emends to *budhi* (loc sing 'at the awakening of dawn')

arādhyā edīdhiṣūpatim VS *ārādhyai* (read with Poona *ea ar*°) *†dīdhiṣūpatim* TB The VS form is anomalous, as a fem word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom form in composition is absurd

avasyuvātā br̥hatī (TS °tīr) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS °rīh) TS MS KS AŚ Sing plural

imam yajñam avantu no ghr̥tācīh (MS KS AŚ *avatu yā* [AŚ *no*] *ghr̥tācī*) TS MS KS AŚ Sing plural

paraśur (TS *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS °*ih*) AV TS *svasti* is familiar as both fem and neut

vṛṣhātāh (AV °*tā*) *prthuvīm anu* RV AV VS AB TB SMB Fem pl neut pl (in different contexts)

śam rātrī (VS, *rātrih*, VSK TA *rātrih*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK TA MS All noms sg

śatamūlā śatāñkurā TA MahānU *śatamūlāh śatāñkurāh* MahānU Fem sing plur

śṛṇvantu āpo dhiṣanāś ca devāh (MS * *dhiṣanā ca devī*) VS TS MS * KS ŚB Sing plur

viśo (SV *dhso*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Agni is meant, and a nom or voc masc is required, *prabhu*, repeated in the comm, is apparently understood as an adverb, but is probably only a phonetic error

samśitam kṣatram (MS KS TA add *me*) *jiṣnu* (AV *kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The AV form would be masc, which cannot be construed, Whitney accordingly adopts *jiṣnu*

valso jarāyu (KS *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣah* AV TS MS KS The regularly neuter word is here masc in KS, perhaps attracted to the gender of the preceding masc

sa nah prthu (TB *prthuh*) *śravāyāyā RV SV ŚB TB* Transference of the epithet with change of gender from neut to masc

śīsam ca me trapu (TS °*puś*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS The rare stem *trapu*, for the regular *trapu*

sapatnīr śabhībhuvarī (ApMB °*rīh*) RV ApMB Only a nom sing fem can be construed See Winternitz, *Introd*, xxii

sarasvatī (AV TB † °*tīh*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV *sadantām*) RV AV VS MS KS TB N Whitney calls the °*tīh* form a blunder and emends This is perhaps going too far, but of course it is a nom sing like the other

sarasvatyā (TV °*tyāh*) *supippalah* VS MS TB Instr gen

sahasraśīrṣā (ArS °*śāh*) *puruṣah* RV ArS VS ŚB TA ApŚ Both nom sing, °*śīrṣāh* as if from an *s*-stem (contamination from *śīras*?)

atviddhā vithurenā cid astrā (MS *astāh*) RV MS KS The MS is doubtless corrupt

varṣman kakubh (TB Conc °*bhah*, MS *kakubbhah*) *śīśriyānah* (TB *śrayasva*) TS MS TB See §400

upahūtāh sapta hotrāh TS TB ŚŚ *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB Sing plur

- agne tvam puriṣyāh* VS KS ŚB *agneh puriṣyam aśi* VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Voc gen
hiraṇyayāh (MS °yā) *śucayo dhārapūtāh* RV MS The only gram-
matically construable form is °yāh, MS seems corrupt
so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS sanāmy ṭagneh) VS TS MS KS
Voc gen
sapraṭha (MŚ °thah) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ pāhi, and 'jugupah) TB
ApŚ MŚ Both voc, stems in *a* and *as*
imā brahma brahmavākah (TS ṭ°ha) RV AV KS TB As prec
svāhā tvā subhava (VSK TS ApŚ °vah, KS subho) *sūryāya* VS VSK
TS MS KS KB ŚB ApŚ Vocatives, *s* and *a*-stems On KS
see §749
dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV *dātum cec chakṇuvānsah* (Poona ed
chakṇavān sa) *svarga eṣām* TA See §826
dyumad mbhātī bhāratebhyaḥ śuciḥ (VS śuci, comm śuciḥ) RV SV VS
TS MS KS *śuci* might pass as an adverb
dūrvā rohatu puṣpinī (RV rohanu puṣpinīh) RV AV Sing plur
tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā (VS yās ca ṣaṭpadāh) VS TS MS KSA Sing
plur
trṇam vasānā (HG °nāh) *sumanā asas* (HG aśi) *tvam* AV HG The
form can only be nom sing fem, HG is impossible
prthivyā (MS *°vyāh) *sambhava* VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
Probably the only correct reading is °vyā (see von Schroeder's note)
§382 In adverbial forms
athā (AV adhah, comm adha, but Ppp adhah) *sapatnī yā mama* RV
AV ApMB *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV See §74
śṛṇvanti (PB °tv) *āpo adha* (PB 'dhah) *ksarantiḥ* RV PB
parā svapnamukhāh śucaḥ AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ See
§820 The variation -*mukhāh* (bahuvrīhi) *mukhā* belongs to the
preceding section
§383 Involving different divisions of words
samudrād udajani vah (ApŚ udacann wa) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53
idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS *rakṣobhiḥ) *sam ūhāmī* (TS sam dahāmī)
TS MS (both) KS MŚ As the Conc suggests, *rakṣobhiḥ* must
be a corruption
girā ca (AV virājah) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS
KS ŚB See §57
śarīram yajñāśamalam (MuhānU yajñah sa") TS KSA TA
MahānU See §818
tigmāyudhāya bhāratā śṛnotu nah (TB śṛnotana) RV TB N

āsanā ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanā* (KS °tu) *devāh* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB

pra su (HG sa) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artim*) *yuyolana* (MG *yuyolu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG

ūrjam bibhrad vasuvānah (*vah sumanāh*, *vah suvanah*, *vasumanāh*) , see §227

upānasah saparyan RV † *upo nu sa sap°* SV

kavir yah putrah sa im ā (TA Conc *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV AV TA N *imāh* has no standing

ava (RV *abhi*, MS *ā vah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmasi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The reading of MS is secondary but simple

indrāh pāṣena ṛśaktvā vah (HG *pāṣena vah ṛśaktvā*) ApMB HG *indra-pāṣena sūtvā* PG See §819

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA *ita*) TB TA *ṛtasya tv enam āmūtah* MS (corrupt, see §838)

adyā mamāra sa hyah sam āna (MS *Samhitā*, *sahyah samānah*) RV AV SV MS N *sam āna*, verb, *samānah*, adj

virenyah kratur indrah suśastih RV cf *varenyakratūr* (°tur, *idenyakra-tūr*) *aham*, §554 Conc suggests *virenyakratūr*, Oldenberg, *Noten*, goes further and suggests *varenya-* (or °yah) *kratur*

vāṁmanaścakṣuḥśrotraṇyūghrānarelobuddhyākūḥsamkalpā (TA TAA °ākūḥ *samkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* FA TAA MahānU Despite the persistence of the reading °ākūḥ (to be sure, one ms of TA reads like MahānU), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound

§384 Miscellaneous

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātrdah* (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB See §57, *ātrdah* apparently abl sing of a noun, MS corrupt, perhaps feels *ātrda* as imperative

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta padā gah* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah* *śvetapad ā gah* MG (but most mss *apa*, so read, cf §817)

apa (MG *apah*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV MG Here all mss of MG have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense

pariṣṣād tad arpitā ApŚ *pari doṣād ud arpitah* KŚ The true reading in both seems to be *udarpitah*, see §63

sugantuh karma karanah karīṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ On the obviously corrupt LŚ see §739

gharmam śocantah (AŚ °la, ŚŚ °lam) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV I p 165

aghāya bhūma harivah parādah (MS [°]*dash*) RV AV TS MS *parādah* is an infinitive, *parādah* is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra, despite the 1st person verb *bhūma*!); or else as an instr plur 'by betrayal' *tām ha jaritar na pratyagrbbhan* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ Gaastra reads *nah* in GB (v 1 *na*), but the sense clearly requires *na* *na śīsarīdata* (HG †*śīsarīdatah*) ApMB HG Both hopelessly corrupt, Winternitz p xxvi suggests *śīsarī datah* *adr̥nhathāh śarkarābhās trivṣṭapā* (MŚ *tribhṛṣṭibhāh*) KS ApŚ MŚ *samudram nah subhvam* (AVPpp ms *subhavas*) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS *samudram na subhah svā abhṛṣṭayah* RV *samudram na subhavas tasthivānsam* AV And others, §§119, 789 *nah*, pronoun *na*, comparative particle *bhṛṣṭam na* (MS *nah*) *śarāsvatīm* VS MS TB *na*, comparative particle

7 Presence or absence of *h*

§385 The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional paliosis, or its reverse. In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions, but of the startling *sanjigāre* in the first variant under §387

§386 Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r*. The variation is almost wholly lexical, it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words *sa ugrah sa hi* (PG *ṛ*) *havyo babhūva* TS PG This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant, an otherwise unknown *ṛ* (said to mean 'and', the mss are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *hi*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *hi* *hinvārāya* (and, *hinvārāya*) *svāhā* VS MS ŚB *īmkārāya* (and, *īmkārāya*, KSA †*m*) TS KSA TB ApŚ Interjections *tasmann* (AV *yasminn*) *ā* (VS *tasman ha*) *tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā* RV AV VS · cf *tasminn āpitā bhu° vi°* RV *caṣṭur yeṣām* (v 1 *hy eṣām*) *āpa uccabhūmam* MŚ And others, see §340 *yasyām idam viśvam* (MS *viśvam hy asyām*) *bhuvanam āvvesa* VS TS MS KS ŚB *mahaś* (MS *mahī*) *cid yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā* RV VS VSK MS ŚB *mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā* TS *dhyo hinvāno* (MS *dhyo invāno*) *dhyā m no avyāt* (RV *avyāh*) RV MS TS Rime words *antarikṣe pathibhir iyamānah* (GB *hriyamānah*, v 1 *hīyamānah*, but no v 1 in Gaastra) RV GB See §353

uta no brahmann ariṣah (MS °*man haviṣah*) RV MS KS AB ŚB ŚŚ
KŚ The secondary *haviṣah* is unaccented in MS, perhaps felt
as a verb form from root *hu* 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the
brahman'

tena samhanu kṛnmasi AV *tena sann anugṛhñasi* HG See §47
atho mātātho pitā TA *hatā mātā hatah pitā* SMB *halo hatamātā*
kṛmih AV The TA probably secondary

rakṣohāmīvacātanah (AV* *atho amīva*) RV AV (both) VS TS MS
KS ApŚ If the AV variant is based on the other, which is not
certain, it is clearly secondary

āntrīmukhah HG *ālakhann anamīṣah hantrīmukhah* PG
Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular
etymology (as if related to *āntra* and a fem form of *hantr*)

atho ye kṣullakā wa AV *hatah kṛmīnām kṣudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā*
atho kṣudrāh TA

āsannīṣūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām*
apsuvāho mayobhūn SV See §820

vanīṣṭhor hṛdayād (AV* *udarād*) *adhī* RV AV (both) ApMB

§387 Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no
particular phonetic interest Only the first variant deserves special
attention, in it all mss of Vait are reported as agreeing on the remark-
able form *samyigāire*, which is certainly for °*hire* and shows an un-
questionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs
counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to
be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant

tāh prācyā (Vait °*yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *uyyigāhire* (KŚ † °*hire*, Vait *sam-*
yigāire) Vait KŚ MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ

sā (read *sa*) *nah prajāṃ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānah* (p p *ahāh, ānī* (sic!)),
yāmānah) MS *sa no rucam dhehy ahṛnīyamānah* TA Read
doubtless *ahṛnīyamānah* in MS, the absurd p p points in this
direction

marudbhyo grhamedhūbhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *vaṣ*°, ApŚ
bāṣkān) The word is wholly obscure

tujo janā (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArS *tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ *balam*,
emend) *sahah* AA ŚŚ The passage is obscure, we see little to
choose between *svah* and *sahah*

pary agnīm ahṛṣata (VSK † *aṛṣata* or *aharṣata*) RV VS VSK *parīme*
'gnum aṛṣata AV (v l in AV *aṛṣata*) Ppp (Barret, JAOS 43
99) reads as in RV except *aharṣata*, with one ms of VSK, Barret
em *ahṛṣata*

CHAPTER X CONSONANT GROUPS

§388 In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone, second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse, and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or *visarga*, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX

1 Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant. When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss. Editors have followed very different courses, sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss., sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228-232, Wackernagel I §98. The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says I c. It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following

śunddhī (PG MG *śundhī*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣih* AG PG ApMB
MG Many mss. of ApMB read *sundhī*

o ṣu (MS *ṣū*) *varṭta* (MS KS *varta*) *maruḍo vṛpam aha* RV MS KS

The spelling *varṭta* (2d plural) is etymological, Muller prints *varta* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV

§390 Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel ll. cc.) Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss. and editions in such cases. Thus the word *putra*

'wing', from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *patra* at any time, as in

kyenasya patram (MS *pattram*) *na plihā śacibhih* VS MS KS TB, where only MS has the etymological spelling. So in

ukthapatra (MS **rā*, TS **pattra*) *īdyo grbhīlah* VS † TS MS KS † ŚB †, the editor of TS alone prints **pattra*, all others (contrary to the Conc) **patra*, but most mss of TS actually read **patra*. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS in:

yena (yenā) rṣayas (yenarṣ) tapasā satram* (TS † *sattram*) *āsate* (VS ŚB *āyan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB, where again most mss of TS read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases.

§391. Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

tā yā devā ā ca śāsvā (VS and Poona ed of TB *śāssvā*) *ca gurasva* VS TB. The root is *śās*, the ending *sva*.

iyam vah sā satyā yām indrena samadhaddhvam (MS **dadhvam*) TS MS *eṣā vas sā satyā yām indrena samadadhvam* KS.

Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*.

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring, to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated.

arhann idam dayase nśvam abhvam (TA *abbhuvam*, MS *ā dhanvā*)

RV MS TA. The TA may quite possibly have intended *abhvam* (on the epenthetic *u* cf. §790). But if the comm. is right it would be a lexically different word, he analyzes it as *ab-bhuvam* 'produced from water (and the other four elements)'. This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible.

ut tvā (SV PB Svidh *u tvā*, two words) *mandantu somāh* RV AV SV PB ŚŚ Vait Rvidh Svidh. The Conc prints *ulvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV, and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first.

ya ātṛnatty (SamhitopaniṣadB *ātṛnoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh *avida**) *karnau* SamhitopaniṣadB VāDh N *ātṛnoty* is an impossible form and must be an error.

ayam yah puro vibhinatty (SV °*naty*) *ojasā* RV SV The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint *agnir hotā vetu* (ŚB *vettu*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu prāvitrām*

ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ So the Conc, TB Poona ed reads *vettu* and *vettu*. In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vī* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB comm *jānātu*) Cf next, and the variations between the participles *ālā* and *vitā*, §398 below

prati tvādityās tvag vettu (TB Poona ed † *vetu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *prati tvā diva* (TB *divah*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB Poona ed † *vetu*) TS TB And others in the context The text of TB actually reads *vetu-ity āha*, doubtless *vettu* is intended

āprā (AV * *āprād*) *dyāvāprthivī antarikṣam* RV AV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AA TA N See VV I pp 27, 129

yad ūrdhvas tṣṣhā (KS *tṣṣhād*) *dravineha dhattāt* RV MS KS AB TB N Here the KS form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhattāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person Cf VV I p 27

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravnam vīrapesāh* RV TS See VV I p 26

satvānām (KS † *sattu*°) *pataye namah* MS KS This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen plur of *satva* would be *satvānām* (cf §494), MS must intend gen plur of *sattu*, like KS

bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (TS *mahiṣad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS The AV has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *dāy* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words, see §826

sadanān (Vait *sa dahar*) *pradahan v* (Vait *nv*) *agāh* GB Vait Particles *u* and *nu*, the passage is metrical and *v(nv)* is read consonantically

lokam (RV *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ *id*) *dve upa jāmī* (RV *jāmam*) *īyatuh* RV MS ApŚ

Double and single consonants between vowels

§393 The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology See Geiger,

Pāl §§5, 6, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant

§394 In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e* This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pāl and Prakrit, there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long But we find variations in the mss between single and double consonants after it, as in AV 15 10 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā* And so in the variant

sa no jīweṣv ā yame AV *sa no deveṣv ā yamat* RV TA ,

where most mss of AV. read *yame*, but the comm *yamed*, which is certainly intended, the next word begins with *d-*, and the actual reading of RV TA is *yamad* See Whitney's note on AV 18 2 3, and VV I p 74 This is clearly a phonetic simplification

§395 The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions, the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently *apsarassu* (HG **rāsu ca*) *yo gandhah* ApMB HG

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG *medhāpsarāsu*, Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh) RVKh MG *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA

MāhāU HG ApMB ApG

Here the fem gender of the word, and its nom sg *apsarāḥ*, may have helped in the change But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected

yā te agne 'yāsayā (VS ŚB *'yahsayā*, TS *'yāsayā rajāsayā*) VS TS

MS KS ŚB MŚ *yā te agne rajāsayā* (VS ŚB *rajahsayā*)

VS MS KS ŚB MŚ

§395a The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahāgre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV *bhajase mahad dhanam*) RV SV

§396. The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayyai* and *rayyās* (see Edgerton, l c, §393) Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayi* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine) But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved, the *rai* forms seem original *agne samrād iṣe rāye* (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS

ŚB TB (The Conc quotes AŚ ApŚ under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrād* etc.)

rāyas poṣeṇa (MS *rayyā*) *mā pakyata* (and *vah paśyāmi*) TS MS KS

§397. The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*, a superlative from it, -*suttama*, varies with the parallel base -*sū-tama*
īndrāya (MS MŚ °*ya tvā*) *suṣuttamam* (VS ŚB *suṣūtamam*) VS MS
KS ŚB MŚ

§398. The roots *vī* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift, it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vī* are older Cf §329, *agnir hotā vetv* (*vetlv*)

iṣṭam ca vītam (ŚB AŚ *vītam*) *ca* (ŚŚ *cābhūt*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

śocasva devavītamah (KS °*vītamah*) RV RVKh VS TS MS KS

ŚB TA *rocasva devavītamah* VS

§399 More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant They are chiefly lexical We begin with those in which the vowel is short Forms of the root *cit*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *ci* or *cyu*

acitlāpājā (TA *acyula*°) *agnīl*, and

acitlamanā (TA *acyula*°) *upavaktā* MS TA ŚŚ Proper names of rishis, 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense, the latter is secondary

citlm (MS KS MŚ *citlm*) *juhomi manasā* (VS TS ŚB add *ghṛtena*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ ApŚ See Keith on TS (HOS 19 p 444, n 1) *Citlm* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *citlm*, but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs To be sure, one ms of MS has *citlm*, but MŚ *citlm* The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*citr*) the fire-altar In the same context occurs

citlm acitlm (KS ms †*citlm acitlm*, emended by von Schroeder) *cinavad*
KS † °*vo*) *vi vidvān* RV TS KS Add to VV I §337 Cf prec
mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito (AV °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nīkārinah* AV VS
TS MS KS Lexical, but the reading with *ti* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods 'Having thoughts (devotion) or magic' first', or, in MS, 'in first thought'. 'piling (the altar) first'

§400 One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem
varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhi (TB Conc °bhīh, Poona ed °bhī, MS
kakubbbhih) *śśrīyānah* (TB *śrayasva*) TS MS TB Loc sing
 instr plur of *kakubh* The form *kakubbbhih* is an impossible blend
 of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with
 Poona ed, yet the comm seems to have read so (but he glosses
uttamāñge, as if loc)

§401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere cor-
 ruptions and false readings

nama ākḥidate ce prakḥidate ca VS MS KS *nama ākḥidate ca prakḥi-*
date ca TS The curious doubling in TS is authorized by TPr
 14 8, but the mss show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's
 note on TPr, and Weber's on TS 4 5 9 2.

ayā san (*ayāh san*, *ayās san*) *manasā hīlah* (MS *kṛtāh*, p p *kṛtāh*, KS
kṛtāh) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (*vayasā*)
kṛtāh AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayasā manasā dhṛtāh* ApŚ ApMB *kṛtāh* is
 obviously a blunder Cf §402

vicṛtāya (VS *vicṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KSA *vicṛtāya* probably an
 error

nurṭah (ŚŚ *nurṭtāh*) *puruṣād dṛtāh* AV ŚŚ The passage where this
 occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any
 other

vaśvānarah prānathā nākam āruhat (PB †*āruha*) AV PB TA ApŚ
 In all followed by *dīva-*, *āruhad* is the actual reading PB has a
 phonetic simplification or corruption, a 2d sing unprv is inap-
 propriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last
 pāda) Add to VV I §332

phalāya, and *phallāya*, KhG *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB GG See
 §79

samudrād udajam vah (ApŚ *udacann wa*) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53

imām narāh (*narah*) *kṛnuta vedim etya* (*eta*, *etat*), see §328

yamasya loke adhiraṣṣur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nadhir ājarāya*) AV
 MS TA Corruption in MS

vinṣi (*vinṣi*, *vinṣṭiyai*, *vinṣṭiyai*) *svāhā*, see §866

māyādevā avataram HG *adevā devavattaram* ApMB Several HG mss
 read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text
ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣu ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadīndm*
 AV See §332

uṣṭo yajño dhṛyubhir dravnodā yatibhir (MS once *yatibhir*) *āśīrda*
 MS † KS † ApŚ † The isolated *yatibhir* can only be a mistake

pitvo (VS MS, *pīdvo*) *nyañkuh kakkaṣas* (MS *kakūṣas*, TS *kaṣas*)

VS TS MS

darūdra (TS *°dran*) *nīlaloḥita* VS TS MS KS ŚB Epithet of Rudra, the TS form apparently felt as a participle Keith, 'waster'

apā vrdhi pariṣṭam (TB Conc *°vrtim*, comm *°vrtim*, Poona ed text and comm *°vrtim*) *na rādhaḥ* RV TB

ātmasy ātmann ātmānam (GB Conc *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hṛtsih*

GB Vait Kauś Gaastra reads correctly like the others for GB *rajanī* (AV Berlin ed *rajjunī*, by emend) *granther dānam* (AŚ *dhānām*)

AV AŚ Vait The emendation is probably right, at least in giving the true original reading of the passage, but there is no variant Caland in his translation of Vait quotes it as reading *rājanī*, perhaps by a slip

jīvebhyas tvā samude vāyur indrah AV 8 1 15a Conc says read *sanimude*, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p p *sam-ude* 'conversation' The comm however connects the word with root *mud* If this were right the variant could be classed with §306 Uncertain

svarūdo abhi gā adrim uṣnan (SV *uṣnan*) RV SV Conc suggests *muṣnan* in RV, see however Oldenberg, *Nolen*, ad loc

§402 Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single or double consonant is long in both cases Particularly interesting, as suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant This seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that position Thus

sarvasmād devakībhṣāt (VS *°vṣāt*, LŚ *eva kīb°*) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ

The LŚ obviously has a secondary lect *fac*, altho it makes good sense

ayā (MS *ayāh*, KS *ayās*) *san* (KS ms *ayāsā*) *manasā hitah* (MS *kṛtah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB Cf §401

jīvām ṛtebhyah parinīyamānām AV *mṛtāya jīvām parinīyamānām* TA

Read *mṛtebhyah* in AV with some mss and SPP

sarvam nī śvāpayā janam RVKh AV Edgerton, *AJP* 35 439, has suggested *śvāpayāj janam* as the true reading

§403 There are several variations concerning the synonymous adverbs *paścā* and *paścāl*, before following *d-* In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved *apaścāddaghvane* (SV *apaścāda*°) *nare* (SV *naraka*) RV SV TB ApŚ *apaścāddaghvānnam* (AV *apaścāddaghvānnasya*) *bhūyāsam* AV MS ApŚ MŚ

paścādoṣāya glāvnam VS *paścādoṣāya glāvam* TB

§404. There is some confusion between *pratīla* (and *parī*°), pple of root *dā* in composition, and *pratīla* (*parī*°), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*). In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious.

yat kusīdam apratītam (TS °*tītam*, and so TA Poona ed, with *v* *i* °*tītam*, SMB *apradattam*) *mayeha* (TS *mayi*) TS MS TA MŚ SMB *apamityam apratītam yad asmi* AV *yāny apāmitiyāny apratītāny* (TB Poona ed °*tītāny*) *asmi* TB ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be *apratītam*, from *prati-dā* (cf SMB), but possibly the pple of *prati-i* may be defended. So the comm on TA reads (*apratītam*), glossing *na pratyarpitam*.

śyene parīto (VSK *parīto*) *acarac ca īvāte* VS VSK ŚB *śyene vāta uta yo 'carat parītah* AV. Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā*.

apah sṛṣāsan svar (TB ApŚ *suvar*) *apratītah* (TB Conc °*tītah*, Poona ed text and comm °*tītah*) RV AV KS TB ApŚ. Here the double *t* has no standing.

stuti śūram vajrinam apratikam (TB Conc *apratītam*, Poona ed °*tītam*) MS TB. The only correct reading is *apratītam* 'invincible'. On MS see §138.

§405. In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt. *atrā* (AV *atara*) *yamah sādānā* (TA °*nāl*) *te minotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV †TA. A clear error in TA. See note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

ugrampaśyā (MS *ugram paśyāc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS TA. Names of Apsarases. The MS has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt*, see §820.

nama ākṛdate ca prakṛdate ca VS MS KS *nama ākṛhṛ° ca prakṛhṛ° ca* TS. See §401.

svāna bhrājā°. VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *svāna bhrāj* TA *svān nabhrād* KS *svān nabhrād* MS MŚ. Keith on TS suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original form.

2 Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406 The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

§407 We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51, Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi)

usrāu (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam anaśrū* (KS *anaśśū*, v 1 °śrū)
brahmacodanau VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ See Keith on TS 1
 2 8 2, he points out that *anaśśū*, as well as *anaśrū* and *anaśśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt.

manyor mṛddhasya (HG *mṛddhasya*) *nāśnī* ApMB HG *manyoh krodhasya nāśanī* PG Kirste suggests reading *ṛddhasya*, saying that *manyoh* seems superfluous. But the parallels show that *manyoh* is original and that HG has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd*.

krīdī ca śāki corjeṣi (ApŚ *sāki tcorjiṣi ca*) VS VSK ApŚ Here the dissimilated form is secondary, it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*ūrj* + root *iṣ*)

āvat tam (TA read *āvar tam*, §873) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV AV SV
 KS TA

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is *y*. We have a number of cases concerning it, to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928.

abhinne khilye (TB *khille*) *nīdadhātī devayam* RV AV TB Comm on TB *khilībhūle*, the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation.

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha TA Bibl Ind *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA
 Poona ed, text and comm *duḥvapnahan duruṣvaha* MahānU
 See §255

āsvān anaśśato (KS tApŚ *anaśyato*, MŚ van Gelder, *anaśvato*) *dānam*
 KS TA ApŚ MŚ See §255

ud u tye (MS MŚ *ud-ul te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS PB GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ The secondary MS MŚ reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*

yad annenātrohati RV AŚ VS TA *yad anyenābhavat saha* AV Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y* On the nonsensical reading of AV (the comm has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §338 The assimilation is secondary

cappam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyur* VS MS KS TB *cappya* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure, *cappam* may be a graphic blunder

sūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām (KSA *vṛkkā*) TS KSA The TS form is a secondary and (as shown by Av *vṛṣka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s v *vṛkka*)

§409 A single case concerns *l*

gāvo gulgulugandhayah (Vait *guggulu*°) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu*, but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form

§410 As to *v*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408 Besides, we find

tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato (ApŚ *tan no viśvato*) *maha* KS ApŚ *tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ, assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas yathāyatham nau tanvau* (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ *tan nau*) *jātavedah* KS AŚ MŚ The MŚ is obviously corrupt, no v l quoted

mṛtāvaruṇā śaradāhnam (MS °hnā) *cikittnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikittam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45

viśvandam (AV °do) *vācam aṁśvaminvām* (AV *aṁśvaminvām*) RV AV See §236

apa dūrghārdhīśo jahī Kauś Read °*dviśo*, the corruption may be graphic (§869)

§411 Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG *prataram na*, mss °*ran na*) *āyuh* RV AV MG

davyā (AV *daivā*) *hotāru* (TS °rā, AV °rah) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanī*°, KS † *vanuṣan na*, AV *sanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etai*) RV AV TS KS

akṣalam ariṣṭam ilāndam SMB · *akṣalam aṣy ariṣṭam ilānnam gopāyanam* ŚG Epithets of the cow, cf the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS 4 2 1 22 7, 10, and 4 2 7 28 12 Altho SMB comm says *ilāndam ilānnam kṣīrādīlakṣanam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing *yad ejaṭ jagatī yac ca ceṣṭatī nāmno* (MahānU *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yaṭnān me*, v 1 *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU Here probably MahānU is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original

ukṣantūdā maruḥ ghṛteṇa AV 3 12 4 So Conc, with Whitney's Transl, the comm, and SPP But according to Whitney no ms reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotṛīyas*, most of them have °ūnā, a few °ūnā Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 366) has °ūnā See §183 [*svāhākr̥tasya sam u ṭṛpnuta ṛbhavaḥ* (TB Conc *ṭṛpnutarbh*°, ApŚ and TB Poona ed *ṭṛpnutarbh*°) RV TB ApŚ *ṭṛnnu*° probably misprint]

§412 When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule But it occurs in a couple of cases *sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāṣān* (SV °yād) *na yajñah* RV SV

anuṣṭum (MS °ṭub) *mitrasya* (GB Vait add *patnī*) MS KS GB Vait

It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals

§413 In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains *anusvāra* This may be merely a matter of writing

devya (ApŚ *divyā*) *āpo nannamīyadhvam* (KŚ *nannam*°) PB KŚ ApŚ

vījasya hi prasave (TS °vo) *nannamīti* (TS *namna*°) TS MS KS ā *yam* (MS MŚ āyan) *narah sudānavo dadākuḥ* RV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ Lect fac in MS MŚ (verb form, 'they have come')

§414. Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with *anusvāra* But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc and neuter (adverbial) forms *tam* and *tad* (*tan*), and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc as a mere corruption

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu kōbhāya* (MS °yi) TS MS TA

tan (JB *tan*) *mā punsī kartāry erayadhvam* JB KBU

trīta etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje TB *trīta enam manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* AV

Conc and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended

§415 Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt, in it a following nasal (l) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute

śiṣum nadīnām harim adribudhnam (TS **buddham*) VS TS MS KS

SB Keith assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation

§416 The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually, there is, then, no need to repeat them here

§416a To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601-4, and in that of *r* with *ru*, §§678-80 We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622-4

3 Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417 Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *ñ* before a sibilant, see §§938 f On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231, Wackernagel I §233a The dropping of the mute is required by APr 2 20 The VPr 6 30 requires it before a voiced mute, the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389) The other Prātisākhya's ignore it All texts seem to show it sporadically But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value Note Weber's disregard of the

TS *mas* in the first two variants, which is typical, other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their *mas*

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated

brhaspate t̥yāmyām (KS *ms* °*yā* emend °*yām*) *yuñgdhī* (AŚ *yuñdhī*)
vācam TS MS KS AŚ But practically all *mas* of TS *yuñdhī*
parvṛñdhī (TS MS ŚB °*vṛñgdhī*) *harasā* VS TS MS KS ŚB

But here too all *mas* of TS *vṛñdhī*, and so *p p* of MS

ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅgdhī (VS *añdhī*, TS KS *aṅjan*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB

athāmptena jaritāram aṅdhī (ApŚ *aṅgdhī*) TB ApŚ But TB Poona
 ed *aṅgdhī*, text and comm

śucī aṅkle (SV *añle*) *śucibhir gobhir agnīh* RV SV

yah pauruṣeyena kraviṣā samaṅkle (AV *samañle*) RV AV Kauś

udno (VS MS *apo*) *dattoḍadhim bhīntā* (VS MS *bhīnta*) VS TS MS

udno dehy udadhim t̥bhīndhī KS

śunddhī (PG MG and v 1 of ApMB *śundhī*) *śīro māsyāyuh pra moṣṭh*
 AG PG ApMB MG

ayam sa śīṅkle (AV *śīñle*) *yena gaur abhivṛtā* RV AV JB N

sampasyan pañktī (AV *pañtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānah* RV AV

achā vīram naryam pañktirūḍhasam (SV *pañti*°) RV SV VS MS
 ŚB TA

[*pāñktrah* (KSA em *t̥pāñktah*) *kaśo māñhīlavas* (KSA *t̥man*°) *le*
pitṛnām (KSA *t̥pitṛnām*) TS KSA The *mas* of both texts all
 read *pāmtra*, intending *pāñtra*, TS comm *pāmtra-kaśān*, as a
 dvandva]

§419 There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present We do not include here cases in which

the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *r*, see §§314-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu* The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy, there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well

gīrah somah (SV *gīra stomān*) *pavamāno mañṣadh* RV SV Here there is a change in syntax, but cf the next, where there is none

ghṛtāhutaḥ somaprṣṭhah (MŚ *stoma*°) *svūrah* AV MŚ *stomaprṣṭho ghṛtavān supratīkah* KS TB †3 7 2 7b, AŚ ApŚ The originality of AV is supported by the RV epithet *somaprṣṭha* (fashioned on the model of *ghṛtapṣṭha*)

apsu dhautasya te deva soma nṛbhīh (TS *tr soma deva te*) *sutasya* (KS *stu*°, MS *ṣtu*°) TS MS KS PB *apsu dhūtasya deva soma te mativido nṛbhī ṣtutastotrasya* (AS *nṛbhīh sutasya*) AŚ ŚŚ

nārāsaṇsena stomena (RV *somena*) RV VS TS MS KS AB SB LŚ Kauś See Oldenberg, ZDMG 54 54 and 56, Hillebrandt, *Lieder des RV* 124 Grassmann would emend RV to *stomena*, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio facilior

[*stulā* (mss *stulā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss *vedamātā*) AV *stulo mayā varadā vedamātā* TAA Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV edition Weber, *IST* 2 144, discusses the TAA passage, he would understand *stulo* as *stulā-u*]

§420 The rest need no subdivision

parijmā cid kramate (AŚ ŚŚ *cid ramate*) *asya dharmanī* AV AŚ ŚŚ 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance' Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable reading, to us it seems merely a lect fac

tam tvam vīśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS °*bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpaya* KS ApŚ Apparently KS has the true reading, cf Caland on ApŚ 10 25 1, *kratūn* is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣināh kalpaya*

ahorātrābhyām puruṣaḥ samena (GB **kṣanena*) GB (both) ŚB *yena śriyam akṛnūtām* PG *yena śriyam akṛnūtām* (ŚŚ *śriyāv akuru-tam*) ŚŚ SMB GG *śriyam* is clearly a secondary simplification with phonetic aspects

brhann aṇi brhadraṇā (TS KS *brhadgrāvā*, MS *brhadrāyāh*, MŚ *brhad-rāyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The form containing *g* seems to be the older

śumbhānas (KS *stam*°) *tanvam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV †*tanvām*) *svām* RV SV MS KS TB 'Adorning (establishing) his own person'

anyadvratasya (TA *anyādvra*°) *saścima* (TA °*maḥ*, Poona ed °*ma*, RV *saścire*) RV VS MS ŚB TA Tho the comm on TA takes *anyadvratasya* as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one, *anyad* is the 'stem' form

māleva putram bībhṛtā sv (VS ŚB *bībhṛtāpsv*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS ŚB

namah śuṣkyāya (MS *śuṣyāya*) *ca harityāya ca* VS TS MS KS Von Schroeder thinks MS is probably to be emended to *śuṣkyāya*, but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification)

bhayam kṛimabhyām (KSA ° *madbhyām*) TS KSA Stems in *-man* -*mant*, obscure names for some part of the horse's body

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added)

kṛtān nah pāhy añhasah (TA *enasah*) MS TA *ṛtān mā muñcatāñhasah*

TB The latter is poor, comm *ṛtāt prāptāt tasmād añhasah*
ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneh TS *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām*
 VS KS ŚB *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS cf *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* TS KS ApŚ Ritualistic rigmorale
 The MS *pāda* may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS

śravo (RV VS *avo*) *devasya sānasa* (TS TA °*sim*) RV VS TS MS KS TA

stavāno (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhuyā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution

āyobhaviyāya (AG *māyo*°) *caluṣpadī* AG ŚG *calvārī māyobhavāya*

TB ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG The ŚG is obviously secondary and poor, it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *āyu(s)*
yāsām agnir iṣṭyā (KSA *niṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV TS KSA The KSA reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice' 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'

erum tundānā patyeva jāyā AV *perum tuñjānā patyeva jāyā* TS The original form of *eru peru* is unknown, it probably means the male organ

purudasmō viṣurūpa (KS *purudasmavad viṣvarūpam*) *induh* VS KS ŚB *urudrapso viṣvarūpa induh* TS ApŚ Synonyms

madhvā (VS *adhvā*) *rajāñśīndriyam* VS MS KS TB Comm on VS *madhvā*, the only possible reading Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aśmahī tvā* ŚG *tvayāvasena* etc TS KS TB AŚ MŚ Kauś SMB PG *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected SBE 29 98, note]

CHAPTER XI VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422 The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter. — In §§300-2 we have referred to variations between *ā* and short *a* plus nasal, they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395-8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

§423 Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and *ā*.

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening, that is, cases in which *ā*, not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of *ā* before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions

1. Final *a* and *ā*

§426. Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases

§427. To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā*. Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV, and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form, whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed, cf. Wackernagel III p. 34 f. and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*, it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p. 312 *infra*, rather different is the implication of III p. 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

(a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*

§428. Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm, at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264–6. The pada-pāthas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a*. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pada or sentence, nor, in TS, at the end of a

kandikā (Wackernagel I §265a, note), cf VV I p 174 Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a* thirteen of the 2d sing impv *-a*, eight of 2d plur *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing middle *-sva*, four of 1st plur *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing perfect *-a*, 2d sing perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur perfect *-a* There are seven other cases two of *sma* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta* On *prā*, probably not to be connected with IE **prō*, see §§439, 449, 465

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference But some general considerations suggest themselves

§431 First the variant word never occurs at the end of a *pāda* or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases (Note that in AV 19 39 10d *suṇā* is a misprint for *suva*, see Whitney's note, the *pāda* is repeated without variant from AV 5 22 3d) One exception has been explained in VV I p 174 *vanaspate* 'va *stjā* (KS *stja*) AV VS TS MS KS For another see *nihāram* etc, §446

§432 Secondly only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus

indra somam pibā imam RV AV SV MS *indra somam imam piba*

RV ŚŚ Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form, but *p* of RV MS both *piba* Cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 8 17 1

§433 Thirdly Otherwise the word following the *a ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV, short *a* RV) and seems due to special reasons In both cases, as it happens, the following word is *pra* We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy), possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf §464)

ut tṣhata (AV Kauś *ātā*) *pra taratā rakhāyah* RV AV VS ŚB TA

Kauś The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter *juhota* (AV *ātā*) *pra ca tṣhata* RV AV VS TA This *pāda* of AV (18 2 2b) is RV 10 14 14b, the preceding one is RV 10 14 15a (these two RV verses are jumbled in AV, see Whitney-Lanman).

yamāya madhumattamam But further, RV 7 102 3b has *juhota madhumattamam*, the first word is the first word of AV 18 2 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV *juhota* is a reminiscence of *juhota* RV 7 102 3b, where the *ā* is regular, in that RV passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434 With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned.

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ

ŚŚ Both are regular, in AV *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two.

agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda. Perhaps *tvam* is surplusage, whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tvam* (if kept at all) must be read *tuam*. But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *ā* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular.

§435 Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a*. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better, it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a*, but in the other three *ā* is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda, this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are

hinva (Vait °vā) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS Vait KŚ ApŚ

MŚ Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait

pary ā su pra dhanva (AV °vā) *vājasūtaḥ* RV AV SV KS AB ŚB

Lengthening secondary

abhi vānūr ṛṣinām sapta (SV °lā) *nūṣṇa* RV SV
vidma (Kauś text °mā, read °ma with AV ?) *te swapna janatram* AV
 Kauś (pratīka only)
adha sma (MS *sma*) *te vrajanam kṛṣnam asti* (MS *astu*, KS °nam *astu*
kṛṣnam) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB Lengthening secondary
vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB ApMB
asti hi śmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te kuṣmīnn awayāh* RV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB
adyā (SV GG Svidh *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV SV AB KB AA TA
 MahānU AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ AG ŚG GG Svidh

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pāda, are

vaha (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS *dadh°*) *havīrṣi* MS KS TB N
upa (MS *ulā*) *no mūrāvarunāv ihāvalam* (MS °nā *ihāgalam*) MS TB
 TA

indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (AV *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocam vīr°*)
 RV AV MS ArS AB KB TB AA N Note that ā is clearly
 secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464)

§438 In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse. All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical, and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda. In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions. Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d, and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz, six, four, and six times respectively. It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last. But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth, one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagatī pādas, and the sixth of an anuṣṭubh. This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura). In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable.

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda

pra (KS *prā*) *na āyur jīvase soma tārīh* RV KS AB GB Vait MŚ

It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS has preserved a historic

representative of IE **prō* Cf *pra* (*prā*) *smā* *mināty* (*minoty*)
ajarah, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449

§440. In the second syllable

hivva (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāṇi*) *harivah* TS Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ
vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā dādhiyo* (MS *dadh*°) *haviṇṇi* MS. KS TB N
vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB ApMB

vidma (Kauś °*mā*) *te svapna janutram* AV Kauś
adyā (SV GG Svidh *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV SV AB KB TB AA
 TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ AG ŚG GG Svidh

upa (MS *ulā*) *no mītrāvarunāv ihāvalam* (MS °*nā ihāgalam*) MS TB TA
 §441. In the third syllable.

juhola (AV °*lā*) *pra ca tīṣṭhata* RV AV VS TA
pretū (TS *upa preta*) *jayakū narah* RV SV AV VS TS Read *pra-ulā*
 in RV etc TS seems to have tried to improve the meter, but
 only makes it worse

janīsvā (MS °*ṣva*, RV KS °*ṣ(a)*) *hi janyo agre ahnām* RV TS MS KS
 ApŚ

adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS *astu*, KS °*nam astu*
kṛṣṇam) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§442 In the fourth syllable

varivasya mahāmaha (SV °*syā mahonām*) RV SV
lam ā prna (TB *prnā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV TB
ut tīṣṭhata (AV Kauś °*lā*) *pra taratā sakhāyah* RV AV VS ŚB TA
 Kauś See §433

ā juhola (TB ApŚ °*la*) *duvasyata* RV ŚB TB ApŚ (*prātika*)
ramayata (KS °*lā*) *marutah syenam āyinaṁ* (MŚ *marutah pretam vājinam*)

TS KS ApŚ MŚ Three mss of KS *ramayata*

asti hi smā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te bṛṣṇinn awayāh* RV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB

§443 In the fifth syllable, before the cesura

udīrayathā (MS MŚ °*lā*, AV KS °*la*) *marutah samudratah* RV AV TS.
 MS KS AŚ

yatrā naś cakrā (Conc *cakra* for KS with one ms, but ed *cakrā* with
 others) *jarasam lanūnām* RV VS MS KS GB ŚB. ApŚ ApMB
 HG

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV TA

§444. In the sixth syllable of *anuṣṭubh*

indra somam pibā imam RV AV SV MS *indra somam imam piba*
 RV ŚŚ See §432.

§445 In the seventh syllable of jagatī.

pari ū su pra dhanva (AV dhanvā) vājasātaye RV AV SV KS AB
 ŚB The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī meter
 tends to be long

§446 In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī

apo devīr upa sṛjā (MS sṛjā) madhumatīh VS TS MS KS ŚB
 brhaspate pari dīyā (TS dīyā) rathena RV AV SV VS TS MS KS
 No real variant, since dīyā ends a kandikā in TS, see §428 and VV
 I p 174

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS bhavā) tvam nah VS TS MS KS ŚB
 An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless
 tvam be deleted, see §434

vanaspate 'va sṛjā (KS sṛjā) AV VS TS MS KS Also belongs here
 properly, see §431 and VV I p 174

dyumantam śuṣman ā bharā (SV bhara) svarvidam RV SV
 adītan vā (MS dhīpsyam vā, TB yad vādīṣyan) samjagara (TB
 'jagārā, MS 'cakara) janēbhyah MS TB TA

vayam rāṣtre jāgryāma (MS † KS † °mā, MS p p and TS jāgryāma)
 purohitāh VS VSK TS MS KS

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS °tha) yaje (MS KS yajā) lam RV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB

sapta yonīr (KS yonīnr) ā prnasva (TS KS TB °svā) ghṛtēna VS TS
 MS KS ŚB TB

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūle (AV cā suhūle) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ
 ŚŚ

bhagemām dhīyam ud avā (TB † ApMB † ava) dadan nah RV AV VS TB
 ApMB

nīhāram in nī me hara (TS †harā) TS KS The TS form is quoted
 as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr. 3 12, the actual quotation
 there includes the following word nīhāram, which is the initial of
 the next pāda. There is no doubt of the pāda-division, the pāda
 is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh. But the lengthening of *a* final in its
 pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be
 assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption
 that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following nīhāram),
 or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading
 intended in the samhitā-pātha is not hara but harāś, subj and not
 imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the p.p. as hara,
 and hence arose the TPr rule on the subject. This variant should
 then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures
 for this section.

§447 In the ninth syllable of jagati

abhi vānīr ṛṣindm sapta (SV °tā) *nūgata* RV SV

§448 In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubh

vīrebhr akvaṛ maghavā bhavā (TS °va) *naḥ* RV VS TS MS KS No true variant, since *bhava* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS, cf §428 and VV I p 174

gharmam pāla vasavo yajata (TA °tā, MS °trā) *vāt* (MS *vet*, TA *vaṭ*) VS MS ŚB TA Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubh meter, hence lengthening secondarily in TA Note that TA is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable

§449 Different syllables, with change of meter

idam me prāvātā vacaḥ RV VS TS KS TB *oṣadhayah prāvata vācam* me MS *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position

indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (AV *nu pra vocam vīr*°, but most mss, SPP, and Whitney Transl *prā* for *pra*) RV AV ArS MS AB KB TB AA N—Ppp (Barret, JAOS 48 47f) like RV On *prā* cf §439 and 437

(b) Words in which absolutely final *a* varies with *ā*, the *ā* being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds

§450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, altho it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor We include here adverbs in *tra* or *trā*, adverbs in *tha* or *thā*, *dha* or *dhā*, gerunds in *ya* or *yā*, instrumentals from *a* stems in *na* or *nā*, and neuter nom-accs in *ma* or *mā*, also one variant of *acha achā* It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending *yā* is probably older than *ya*), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf §438) Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda

§451. Adverbs in *tra trā*, viz *yatra*, *tatra*, *atra* There is a suffix *trā*, whose independence of *tra* seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, *Grammar*, §1099a), the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem So far as we have noted, our variant forms in *trā* always accent the stem Still, the existence of the *trā*-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix *trā* may be at least suspected

§452 In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has *ā*.

yatrā (MS **yatra*, AV **yenā*) *nah* (AV **te*) *pūrve pītarah paretāh*
(RV MS **pareyuh*) RV AV (bis) MS (tris)

yatrā sapta ṛṣiṇ (TS KS *yatra saptarṣiṇ*) *para ekam ākuh* RV VS TS
MS KS N

yatrā (TS *yatra*) *suhārdah sukrto madanti* (TS **te*) AV TS

atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA **nāt*) *te minotu* (AV *krnotu*) RV AV †
TA

tatrā sadah (SV *tatra yonim*) *krnavase* RV SV KS

tatrā (SV *tatra*) *no brahmanaspatih* RV SV *tatra indro bṛhaspatiḥ*
VS

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā ita bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV

atrā (VS *atra*) *jahimo* (RV TA *jahāma*, AV *jahita*) *ye asann aśevāh*
(AV *akvāh*, and *asan khrevāh*, VS ŚB 'śvā ye asan) RV AV VS.
ŚB TA

§453 Adverbs in *tha*, *thā*, and *dha*, *dhā*. Among the variants are found only *atha*, *athā*, *adha*, *adhā*, and one case of *ittha*, *itthā*. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā*. The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha*. The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *athā* and *adhā*. There is thus time no difference in accent. The *itthā ittha* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*.

§454 In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one, but the following syllable is long also in every case but one.

atha (AV *adhā*) *māsi punar āyāta no grhān* AV HG.

adha (TB *adhā*) *vāyum nityatah saścata svāh* RV VS MS TB

atha mave arapā edhate grhah TS *adhā vīsvāhārāpa edhate grhe* VS
atha jivir (read *jivir*, see Whitney) *vidatham ā vadāsi* AV *athā*
jivir ApMB *adhā jivir vidatham ā vadāthah* RV

adha syāma (MS *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV MS KS ApŚ

athā (AV *atha*) *devānām vaśantī bhavātī* RV AV TA

athā (TS * *atha*) *bhava yajamānāya śam yoh* RV TS MS KS AŚ No true variant, the short *a* once in TS (3 2 11 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*, see §428 This shows that after all the lengthening to *athā* was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to sandhi

§455 For completeness we add here the single case of *ithā* varying with *itha* The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha* Of course the original and regular form is *ithā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final *ā*, §477 *ihetha* (AV °*thā*) *prāg apāg udag adharāk* AV GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait

§456 *Gerunds in ya yā* According to Whitney, *Grammar* §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV forms in *ya* have *ā*, as if instr sing forms of *i* or *ti* stems This, together with the fact that these *yā* gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort It is likely that the gerund ending was originally *yā*, and that the later regular ending *ya* is secondary

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a pāda, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening *hiranyayāt pari yoner nṣadyā* (MS °*ya*) RV MS ApŚ

vanaspate rasanayā nṣyūyā (MS °*ya*, KS TB *rasanayābhūdhāya*) RV MS KS TB AŚ N

viśvā agne abhiyujō vihatyā (AV TB °*ya*) RV AV MS KS TB

rudrāh samśrjya (MS °*yā*, TS ApŚ *sambhṛtya*) *prthwīm* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

mitrah samśrjya (MS °*yā*) *prthwīm* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

§458 *Instrumentals of a-stems in na nā* In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in *ā* assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the *a* There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns *tena* and *yena*, these three forms are initial in their pādas In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh pāda, so that the meter requires a long, which RV has, while SV substitutes short *a* against the meter In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short

kavir gīrbhūh kāvyenā (SV °*na*) *kavīh san* RV SV

tenā (AV TB Poona ed and MŚ ed *tena*, but all mss of MŚ *tenā*) *sahasrakāṇḍena* AV TB ApŚ. MŚ *tena vāyam sahasravālśena* TB ApŚ

tena (AV *tenā*) *vāyam bhagavantah syāma* RV AV VS TB ApMB.

yena vahasī sahasram VS MS ŚB *yenā* (KS *yena*) *sahasram vahasī*
AV TS KS Vait

§459. *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom masc) in ma mā* (once, a *ā*) Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc *ā* neut *a*). Sometimes there is a change of number altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the pp regularly writes *a*. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible, and cf Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut sing, so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf Wackernagel III §145b).

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a triṣṭuh once, thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr-* (cf §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long, the following one is long just half the time. *śarmā* (TA °ma) *sapratā āvṛne* KS TA *śarma yachātha sapratāha* (read °thāh with all mes, cf Lanman, *NInfl* 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case. *vyomā* (TS °ma) *saptadaśah* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ—BR. assume a change of gender here in *vyoman*. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

ayam sahasram ānaro vidharma (ApŚ °mā) SV ApŚ MŚ. Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula, rather change of gender, neut to masc, in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

brahma (ApŚ °mā) *devānām prathamajā rīasya* PB ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ masc, 'priest of the gods'). *rīasya brāhma* (AV *bhūtānām brahmā*) *prathamota* (emended by RWh in AV to *prathamō ha*) *jagṛe* AV TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation, see Whitney's note.

tan no brahmā (TA °ma) *pracodayāt* MS TA MahānU Here also there is change of gender (MS *brahmā'*)

trīśad dhāma (MS MŚ *trīśāddhāma* as one word) *in rājati* RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS understands its compound as of masc gender

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS MS TB AŚ ŚŚ *brahmā devakṛtopahūta* ŚB Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB

varma (AV °mā) *sūryadhvam bahulā prthūni* RV AV KS ApŚ Both forms here are plural, and so in the next

yatra gavām nūhāt sapta nāma (AV *nāmā*) RV AV Cf prec, note the variation at the end of a pāda

tava śravāṁsy upamāny ukthya (SV °ya) RV SV The only case of a n pl in a ā not from an *n*-stem

§461. One case of the preposition *acha achā* The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain, but in RV it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s v) One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here Wackernagel II 1 p 131, believes that *achā* is original

acha yāhy ā tvahā dawyam janam RV *achā no yāhy ā vaha* RV SV

We consider that *vahā vaha* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vahābhi*, fusing *vaha* with following *abhi*.

The p p, of course, always reads short *a*

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened

§462 Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vant* and *vin*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way

§463 The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final So the ā is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse There are five metrical

variants of a *ā* before the suffix *vant*, in every one the variant syllable is second in the pāda

§464 Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v*. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence, cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants — For compounds of a privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f.

§465 *Prepositions in final a*, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are prose. In two out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

apamatyam apratīllam yad asmi AV (pratikas in GB Vait Kauś)

yāny apāmityāny apratīllāny (TB Poona ed. ² *tīllāny*) *asmi* TB

ApŚ (Metrical in AV, but prose in TB ApŚ)

upāvīr (TS ApŚ *upa*^o) *asi* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ. See pw VII p. 325.

prayāśāya (VS *prā*^o) *svāhā* VS TS KSA TB TA. On *prā*, not to be identified with IE **prō*, cf. §§429, 439.

[*prāvanebhīh* (MS KS *pravanena*) *sajośasah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana*. See §491.]

§466 Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v*. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see §476.

āvīte dyāvāprthivī tāvṛdhau MS KS *āvinne dyāvāprthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB. And (in same passage) *āvīttau* (TS *āvinnau*) *mitrā-varunau dhṛtavratau* (TS ^o *nāv tāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr-* (the syllable being long already). Cf. §665.

sahasrapoṣam subhage (TS *^o *gā*) *rarānā* RV TS MS KS SMB. ApMB *sahasrāpoṣam subhage rarānā* AV Kauś.

īde agnim svavasam (AV *svāvasum*) *namobhīh* RV AV MS TB AŚ. Only the AV truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vasu*. The others have a compound of *su* with *avas*.

deva samsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe (AV *sahasrā*^o) AV TS *sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe* SMB (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV TS, but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase).

dvārapāya svāhā, *dvārapayā svāhā*, *dvārapopā sprśa*, *dvārapya upa sprśa*, all HG. *dvārā*^o etc., ApMB.

[*bṛhaspatinā rāyā svagākṛtaḥ* TS †*svagākṛakṛto mahyam* MŚ Conc *svagak°* for MŚ]

§467. *Formations in vant and vin* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr texts short *a*, but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed, we have seen (§§238 ff) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels. The first five variants are metrical

aśvavat (RV *aśvā°*) *soma vīravat* RV SV VS

indravanto (TS *indrā°*) *maruto viṣṇur agniḥ* RV AV TS KS †40 10b

puṣpavatīḥ (TS *puṣpā°*) *supippalāḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB

puṣpavatīḥ (TS ViDh *puṣpā°*) *prasūvarīḥ* (TS *°vatīḥ*, AV KS *°matīḥ*)

RV AV VS TS MS KS

śṛkāhastā (TS KS *śṛkāvanto*, MS *śṛgavanto*) *nṣaṅginah* VS TS MS KS

indravān bṛhad bhās svahā KS *indrāvān svāhā* TS TB *indravān svavān bṛhad bhāḥ* MS

dūrehetur indriyāvān (PB † *°yavān*) *patatrī* (PB *°trīḥ*) TS PB TB PG ApMB

vālāvān varṣan bhīma raṇat svahā MS *vālāvad varṣam ugrar āvṛt svāhā* TS *vālavan varṣann ugra rāṇat svahā* KS

agnīndrayor aham devayajyayā vīryavan indriyavān bhūyāsam MŚ

indrāgnīyor (MŚ *°nyor*) *aham devayajyayendriyāvy annādo* (MŚ

°driyavan vīryavan) *bhūyasam* TS MŚ *indrasyaham devayajya-*

yendriyavī (KS *°yavan*, MŚ *°yavan*) *bhūyāsam* TS KS MŚ

juṣṭam devebhyo havyam ghṛtāvat (TS *ghṛtāvat svāhā*) TS MS

dhiṣṇas tvā devīr visvadevyāvatīḥ (MS MŚ *dhiṣṇa tvā devīr visvadevyavāṇī*) *prthivyāḥ sadhasthe* VS TS MS KS ŚB And so with

aditiḥ tvā (*°tis tvā*) *devī*, *devānām tvā putrīr devīr*, *janayas*

tvāchinnaṣatra devīr, *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūtrī*, etc.) *gnās*

tvā devīr. All in same texts, Maitr always reading *visvadevyā°*,

the others *°vyā°*

[*somam te krīnāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam vīryāvantam* TS KS Conc *vīryavandam* for TS]

§468. *The reduplicating syllable* Two cases, in both the following consonant is *m* or *v*

trita etan (AV *tṛta enam*, com *etāt*, read *etan* or *enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* (AV *māmṛje*) AV TB The AV form is more usual but bad metrically, TB (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem *māmṛj-* (found RV)

bucanto agnim vavṛdhanta (AV *vā*^o) *indram* RV AV KS The regular form is *vā*^o, but forms with *vā*^o are found in RV

(d) Final *ā* optionally shortened to *a*, and other *a ā* either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds

§469 We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' *a ā*. Real phonetic shortening of *ā* is not common. In most of the following variants both short and long *a* can be justified morphologically. We begin with an interesting group concerning a privative and the preposition *ā*. Some of these concern lengthenings of *a* privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition *ā*.

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV form *ā'deva*, 'godless', is the same as *ādeva*, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV itself. A somewhat dubious theory on *ādeva*, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 6 49 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II 1 p. 131.

vśā ādevīr abhy aśnavāma RV *vśō adevīr abhy ācarantīh* RV AV AB *bhuvad* (SV *bhuvo*) *vśvam abhy ādevam* (SV *ad*^o) *oṣā* RV SV. Here the *ā* may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the caesura, with short *a* we have a tribach.

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of *a* privative are *adāyo* (TS *adāyo*, MS *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV *adaya ugrah*) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS. In pw I p. 297 it is said that *ādāya* is an error for *adaya*. But the *p p* repeats the form, it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from *ā-dā*.

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS *yavā āyavā ūmā řevā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah* MS KS MŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS ApŚ. The forms *yava(n)*, *yā*^o, and *ayava(n)*, *ayā*^o, are used with great confusion, but the *a*- seems to be felt as privative, the *y*-forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the *ay*^o forms the latter half. The form with *āy*^o is not noted except here and in the next, it seems to be equivalent to *ay*^o.

saṣṭūr abdo (MS * *abdā*) *ayavabhīh* (TS ApŚ 'yāvabhīh, MS MŚ *āyavabhīh*, KS *āyavabhīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ Cf preceding.

§472 In the next we have a clear case of the preposition *ā* varying with *a* privative.

yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah AV *yām apīlā upatiṣṭhanta āpah* LŚ

'Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon' 'whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon'

§473 In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *ā* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants, cf the similar law in Pāli and Prakṛit (§§393 ff) The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them a privative may be involved, so in the first

svastīdā āghṛnīh (TB TA *agh°*) *sarvasīrah* RV AV MS TB TA This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā* The form *aghṛnī* is recorded in no lexicon Comm on TB desperately takes the *a* as privative *asodhavyadīptih* (!) The comm on TA varies in different mss, one reading is *āgatadīptih* (taking *a* as = *ā*) The reading adopted in Poona ed is *adīptih*, *asmāsu anugrāhi*, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf the classical *aghṛnīn* (pw II p 286, 'nichts verachtend') But cf also *pūṣne 'āghṛnaye svāhā*, §300, where the yet different form *āghṛnī* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṛnī*

āśleṣā (TS *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa*, both these forms are otherwise unknown BR derive *āśleṣa* from a privative, but *āśleṣa* (*āśr°*) from the preposition *ā*, this is hardly credible The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a-* is a case of shortening before two consonants

ā no vīsva (MS *vā*) *āskrā* (TB *vīśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS *ta*) *devāh* RV MS TB AŚ The word is obscure, *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown Comm on TB *ābhīmukhyena kartārah sandah*, which implies *ā* and supports BR's derivation from *ā* plus root (s)kr (Sāyana derives from *kram*) This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group

§474 There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of a privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders' The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB Bibl Ind ed, and each time the Poona ed reads short *a* in text and comm without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts *arādhyā edidhīṣūpatim* VS *ārādhyai ṛdidhīṣūpatim* TB Conc 'For misfortune'

aśādham (TB Conc *aṣ°* or *āṣ°*) *yulzu pṛtanāsu papṛm* RV VS VSK MS TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Unconquerable'

aśādham (TB *āṣ°*, Conc) *ugram sahamānam ābhīh* RV AB TB

§475 Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *vant*. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II 1 §56 that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case.

nāṣikāvate (TS °*kavate*) *svāhā* TS KSA

amāyān māyavattarah ŚB *māyām māyāvattarah* AB

idaprajaso (KS 1dā°) *mānavih* TS MS KS

śvrahpānīpādapārēvapṛṣṭhorūdarajañghasīnopasthapāyavo (MahānU °*pṛṣṭhodarajañghā*°) *me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU

ūrnamradasam (TS TB ApŚ *ūrṇā*°) *tvā stṛṇām* (KS *ūrnamradah prathasva*, Kauś *ūrnamradam prathasva*) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *devebhyaḥ* VS TS KS ŚB TB KŚ Kauś *uru prathasvornamradam svāsastham devebhyaḥ* MS

§476 The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition.

mitrāvarunanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā devebhyo uttarāsadbhyaḥ (VSK *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS VSK ŚB

ye devā mitrāvarunanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas (VSK *vottara*°) *lebhyaḥ svāhā* VS VSK ŚB

§477 The rest are sporadic. The stem *aṣṭa aṣṭā* belongs with noun formation rather than here, *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf Wackernagel II 1 p 131, III p 358). On *utthā uttha* see §455, on *achā acha*, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form *visvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants.

śvā visvāha (VS and p p of MS °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*, TS *visvāha-bheṣajī*) VS TS MS KS (Cf *vratam rakṣanti visvāha* etc., §511).

The reading of MS p p suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of *visva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut plur in *a ā*, cf §§459 f).

atī vā (AV *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate nah* RV AV *vā vā*

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N
See §832

athem ava sya (AV *athemam asyā*) *vara ā pṛthivyāḥ* AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ
'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth' 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth'

2 Non-final *a ā* in verb inflexion

§478 In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, *a* medial varies with *ā*. Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift

devān devayate (TB ApŚ MŚ *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ *yajamānāya svāhā*)

RV SV KS TB ApŚ MŚ

agne preḥi prathamō devayātām (AV *devātānām*, MS KS *devāyatām*)

AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is meant for *jagati* in all except AV, meter favors *devā°*

apānudo janam amutrāyantaṁ (AV *amutrā°*) RV AV TS KS

devayuvam (TS TB *devā°*) *viśvavārām* (AŚ °*re*) TS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

devīr āpo agreḥuvō devayuvam (VSK *devā°*) VS VSK ŚB

§479 Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p 155)

vasoṣpate nī ramaya (N *rām°*, so v I of AV) AV N *vasupate vī ramaya*
MS

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS *yāvayāsmad dveṣah* VS TS ŚB Kauś *yāvaya*
(v I *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS *yāvayāsmad aghā dveṣānsi* TA

yāvayārātīm KS *yāvayārātīh* (MS Kauś °*tim*) VS TS MS ŚB Kauś

The p p of MS has *yāvaya*

tatra hanyānī gāmaya (KS *ga°*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ But von Schroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS with one of his three mss

§480 There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation, see VV I p 187, to which our first variant should be added

aditsan vā (MS *dhīpsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyān*) *saṁjagura* (TB °*jagārā*, MS °*cakara*) *janebhyah* MS TB TA These are first person forms,

so that either *a* or *ā* is permissible by regular grammar

yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS †*sāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atrinaṁ* RV SV
KS

bibheda valam (AV AŚ *balam*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV *sasāhe*) AV SV
AŚ ŚŚ The *ā* is probably due to the meter here, in the middle it

is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h)

But the AV form is itself not regular, it should be *sehe*

svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanuvam*) *piṇṇayasva* (AV *piṇṇā°*) RV AV TA
MahānU See VV I p 187 The *ā* here disturbs the meter, but

is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form

§481 There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a*. They are mostly collected in VV I pp 128 f, 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following

ānyāvākṣīd (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vīryāni* VS TB Cf also *grāvāvadīd* (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*, so KS ed, with *v* 1 as Conc) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ **sunā*) KS ApŚ

§482 Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *ā* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a*. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152-4, 167f). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *a* and *ā* (VV I §193), or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā* *a*, VV I pp 180f, and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples

ayann (TB ApŚ *āyann*) *arthāni kṛnavann apānsi* RV KS TB ApŚ *ahā yad dyāvo* (AV *devā*) *asunītm ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *ayan* subjunctive

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337

ā mā gantām (VSK † **tam*) *pitarā mātara ca* (VSK † *yuvam*) VS VSK 10.3.12c, TS KS ŚB. Subject voc in VSK, nom elsewhere. Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs.

3 Non-final *a ā* in noun formation

§483 In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear, the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

§484 Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *ā* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually the not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this *vriddhi*. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite.

§485 Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yava(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv*°, and *ay*°, *āy*°, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown.

sayūr abdo (MS **abdā*) *ayavobhīh* (KS *āy*°, TS ApŚ *‘yāvabhīh*, MS MŚ *āyavabhīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS *āyavā ūmā ‘evā abdas*, TS ApŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah*) *sagarah sumekah* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ
yavānām (TS *yāv*°) *bhāgo* ‘*st* VS TS MS KS ŚB
ayavānām (TS *ayāv*°) *ādhipatyam* VS TS MS KS
yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan VS MS KS ŚB *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsit* TS

§486 Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable, type *bhaga bhāga*. They call for no comment. *subhagamkaranī mama* AV *subhāgamkaranam mama* SMB. Most *samhitā* mss. of AV *subhāg*°.

mām agne bhāginam kuru ApMB *mām indra bhāginam kṛnu* AV
samsrāvabhāgā (‘*gāh*’, ‘*gās*’, VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava*°) *stheṣā* (Kauś *taviṣā*)
bṛhantah VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś
namah parnāya (TS KS † *parnyāya*) *ca parnaśādāya* (TS ‘*śadyāya*’, VS ‘*śadāya*’) *ca* VS TS MS KS

prātah prātahsavasya (ApŚ MŚ ‘*sāvasya*’) *śukravato* ŚB KŚ
 ApŚ MŚ *prātahsāva* is the only form known to RV, but the other is commoner later.

prātah prātahsavasyendrāya (ApŚ MŚ ‘*sāvasyen*’) KŚ ApŚ MŚ
śrāvaś (VS *śravaś*) *ca me śrutāś ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS *śravaś*
 might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *śrāvaś*.

kṣuro bhrajaś (TS *bhrjvāñ*, MS *bhrjaś*, VS *bhrājaś*) *chandah* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB *bhrajaś* (KS ed *‘bhrā’*, v 1 *bhrā*°) *chandah* VS
 (in next verse) TS KS (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS *bhrajaś* for *bhrā*°.

vahnih samtarano (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA. Different but synonymous roots.

§487 Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning
yad bhūtam yac ca bhavyam (AV *ArS VS *bhā*°, AV **yad vā bhāvyaṃ*)
 RV AV (b1a) ArS VS TA. Gomim. on AV and Ppp *bhav*°.
 Metrical lengthening, possibly.

uttarasyaṃ devayajyāyām upahūtah (TB also ‘*tā*’) TS ŚB TB *upahūto*
‘yam yajamāna (MS ‘*nā*’) *uttarasyaṃ devayajyāyām* (MS ‘*yājyā-*
yām’) MS AŚ ŚŚ.

§488 Forms in other suffixes

havanaśrun (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV TB *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hū*

dūṣṭikābhur hrādunum (KSA † *hra*^o) TS KSA *hrādunir dūṣṭikābhuh* VS MS The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*, if KSA is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*

divācarebhyo (MG °*cārībhyo*) *bhūlebhyaḥ* MG VīDh *ahascarebhyaḥ* ŚG (Sc *namah* in both) Also *naktamcarebhyaḥ* ŚG VīDh *naktamcārībhyo bhūlebhyaḥ* MG Stems *cara* and *cārīn*

latam me apas (TB ApŚ *ma āpas*) *tad u tātate punah* RV KB TB AŚ ApŚ Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic

vrātāni (MS TB ApŚ *vrātā nu*) *bubhrad vrātapā adabdhah* (TB ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG *adābhyaḥ*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG Here the gerundive varies with a participle

§489 The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations, occasionally they may be lexically different in origin

adāyo (TS *adāyo*, MS *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV ed with p p *adāya ugrah*, but mss *adā*^o, and so comm) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS On the initial *ā* of MS see §471 The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV comm) Possibly 'without a share' (*dāya*), tho this fits none too well For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS and note

marudbhīyo grhamedhībhyo (MS °*dhebhīyo*) *baṣṭhān* (MS *vaṣ*^o, ApŚ *bāṣṭhān*) VS MS ApŚ Cf §219 The word is obscure, is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ?

vāṣaḥ ApŚ *vaṣaḥkārāḥ* AG ŚG If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss of ApŚ *vaṣaḥ*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vaṣaḥ*

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pitṛnām* VS VSK MS *pāṅktah* (KSA † *pāṅktah*, but mss of both texts *pāmtra-*) *kaśo mānthālavas* (KSA † *man*^o) *te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitṛ*^o) TS KSA See §77

hemantūya kakarān (KSA † *kakārān*) VS MS KSA ApŚ Name of an unknown animal or bird

[*śiśirāya vikakarān* (KSA † *vikarān*, Conc *vikārān*, ApŚ *vikirān*) VS KSA ApŚ]

āstām jālma (KS *jālma*) *udaram śraṇṣayitvā* (KS *śraṇṣ*^o) AV KS

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA Read *kūvārasya* in KSA, see §198

sanderathaś śandīkera ulūkhalaḥ ApMB *śāndīkera* (PG *saundikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* HG PG Fanciful names of demons

ākhuḥ śrjayā śayandakas te mantrāḥ (KSA *śayāndakās te mantryāḥ*, em in ed to *'kas te mantrāḥ*) TS KSA *śārgaḥ śrjayah śayāndakas te mantrāḥ* VS MS The word *say°* is obscure, and may have been originally a compound

tāsā stha VS TS ŚB TB ApŚ *vasāḥ stha* MS KS MŚ Addressed to waters *vāśā* probably 'bellowing' (BR and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyana's guesses), *vaśāḥ* 'cows' It is held by some that *vaśā* is connected with the root *vāś*, 'bellow'

§490 Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having *vriḍḍhi* in the first syllable and the other lacking it

tisrās ca rājābandhavāḥ (HG **vanh*) HG ApMB *prajāḥ sarvās ca rājābāndhavāḥ* (MG **vyah*) PG MG *sarvas ca rājābāndhavāḥ* (ŚG † **bandhavāḥ*) AG ŚG (Oldenberg suggests reading **vīh* in ŚG) Alternative stems *bandhava* and *bān°*, both from *bandhu*

mitrāvarunau prasāstarau prasāstrat (KŚ *pra°*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The office of the *prasāstr* is *prasāstra* or *prā°*

divyam suparnam vāyasam (AV *payasam*, KS VS ŚB TS * *vayasā*, MS TS * *vayasam*) *bṛhantam* RV AV VS TS KS MS ŚB AŚ *Suparn vāyasa* and *va°* both 'bird', *vayasā* is instr. of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength'

dhuśanasi parvatī (TS TB ApŚ **tyā*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*, but KS mss *par°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ In the Tait texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr school an equivalent *parvata*, the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahīdhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening), it is too well attested to make emendation advisable See next

prath tvā parvatī (TS TB **tv*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ See prec Twice in KS, once the sole ms has *parv°*, the other time *pārvo°*, but KapS *parv°*

gārgī (AG *gargī*) *vācaknavī* (sc *tṛpyatu*) AG ŚG Patronymics, *gārgī* is to be expected See next

śakalyam ŚG *śākalam* AG (with both sc *tarpayāmi*) Read no doubt *śakalyam* in ŚG (misprint, Oldenberg's translation has *Śākalya*) Cf prec

ya antarikṣāh (sc *sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi*) HG *ye sarpāh pāṛthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* AG

vāyur na iḍṭa iḍṭavyair devair antarikṣyair (ApŚ *antarikṣair*) pātu KS ApŚ

āṅgūśānām (SV *aṅgoṣṇam*) *avāśanta vānīh* RV SV The SV form in this and the next is dubious

āṅgūṣyam (SV *aṅgoṣṇam*) *pavamānam sakḥāyah* RV SV Cf prec *śvetāya vadarvāya* (^o*vyāya*, ^o*dārvāya*, *vaitahavyāya*), see §315

suvarṇastairnyam avratyam (BDh *avratyam*) ViDh BDh Perfect equivalents

narāśaṇse (VS *nār^o*) *somapīṭham ya āśuh* (KS *ānaśuh*) VS MS KS TB

It is at least conceivable that *narāśaṇsa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without vriddhi

[*narāśaṇsa stavīṣyate* AV AŚ ŚŚ In the Berlin ed of AV is printed the false emendation *nārā^o*]

sūyavaśnī manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA ^o*syē*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *mānuṣa* of KS = *manuṣa* of TA (*manuṣe* in RV is dative of *manuṣ*, a more primitive form, all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*)

agnīd rājanarauhināu (so ed, v 1 *rāja^o*, pp *rājan, rau^o*) *purodāśāu adhīraya* MS A name of a *sāman*, see note in MS, and BR s v *rājana*, which seems to be the true form, *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB *śronī^o*) *bhāsadāt* RV ApMB *yakṣmam bhāsadya* MS *śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV

aranyāya (MS *āranāya*) *śmarah* VS TS MS KSA Both mean 'of distance'

kalpayatam mānuṣīh TB ApŚ *dṛṇhantām davīr vīśah kalpantām* †*manuṣyāh* KS

achanno divyas (KS ApŚ *davyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣāś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyāś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *daivo*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§491 In other cases a secondary formation with vriddhi of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word

śunam vāhāh śunam narah (TA *nārāh*) RV AV TA *narah*, plur of *nṛ*, *nārāh*, plur of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nāra*

namas te rathamtarāya (AA *rāth^o*) AA LŚ ŚŚ Both words refer to

the Rathamtara sāman, AA forms an adjective from the noun *rath*°, with *sāme* understood

bhuvanam asī sāhasram (MS **sah*°, ŚG *sahasrapoṣam*, MS **sahasrapoṣapuṣa*, ApŚ *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS SMB ApŚ MŚ ŚG Probably read *sāhasram* in MS *, note that MŚ has this

vāyosāmitra (TS p p °*trah*, MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyāṁ caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar'

tasman brahna ca brāhmāś (TA *brahmā*) *ca* AV TA

nāśām āmitro (TB *nainā amitra*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV AV TB *āmitra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amitra*)'

agnes tvā (MS *agneṣ* (tvā) *mātrayā jagatya* (KS °*tyā*, MS *jāgatyā*) *vantanyā* TS MS KS 'with the path of the jagati' or 'with the jagati as path' KS v l *jāgatyā*

jagad asī MS MŚ *jāgataṁ asī* MS TA ApŚ *jāgataśī* MS *jāgato* 'sī MS MŚ All 'composed in jagati meter'

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB *āgnendham*) VS TB The TB form is problematic, comm *agneh prajvalanakarātaram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham* Should we read *āgnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *āgnindham*?

sadyahkrīś (ApMB *sādyaskrīś*) *chandasaḥ saha* ŚG ApMB *sadyaskrī* (masc !), name of an ekāha The ApMB form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem, and there seems to be no fem noun with which it could agree

prāvanebhuh sajoṣasah RV VS TS ŚB *pravanena sajoṣasah* MS KS The *ἀπ λει* *prāv*° is doubtful, Grassmann as secondary adj, '(fires) of the abyss' But RV p p *prav*°, possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf §464) The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *vana*, in that case it would belong to §465

śāśvatibhyah (AV ApŚ and TB Poona ed *śaś*°) *samābhyah* AV VS TB IāU ApŚ The adjective *śāsvata* = *śasvat*, fem forms of both *yadī varunasyāsi* Kauś *yadī vārūny asī* Rvidh ApG *yady asī vārūnī* GG

yathā yamāya harmyam (TA *hā*°) AV TA, and

evā (TA *evam*) *vapāmi harmyam* (TA *hā*°) AV TA *hārmya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that, but TA takes it as a secondary adj, 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun, and this is also possible

sūpasthā asī vānaspatyah MŚ *sūpasthā devo vānaspatih* TS ApŚ

eṣa u sya vr̥ṣā rathah RV SV *eṣa sya rāthyō vr̥ṣā* VS ŚB
adhyakṣyānukṣattāram TB *†ādhyakṣyānukṣattāram* VS
somo vaiṣṇavo rājā (AŚ ŚŚ *somo vaiṣṇavas*) *aṅgirasō* (AŚ *†āṅg°*,
 ŚŚ *aṅgirasō vedō*) *vedah* ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'The Aṅgirasas (i.e.,
 the AV) are the Veda', so ŚB The others mean the same thing
 'the (Veda) of the Aṅgirasas'

§492 There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern noun formation in a broad sense First a group of variants between *āgrayana* and *āgrā°*, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma, which is apparently derived from *agra*, the *ā* may be rhythmic in character The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in MS MŚ and KS, with short *a* elsewhere

nūdhanavata āgrayanah (MS KS *āgrā°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
āgrayanaś (MS KS *āgrā°*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS
āgrayanāt (KS MS *āgrā°*) *trīnavatrayastrinsau* VS TS MS KS ŚB
āgrayano (MS MŚ *āgrā°*) *si svāgrayanah* (MS MŚ *svāgrā°*) VS TS
 MS ŚB MŚ

āgrayanas te dakṣakratū pātv asau AŚ *ātmānam ta āgrāyanah* (ApŚ *†āgrā°*) *pōtv* MS ApŚ

§493 When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds, the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a* declension

ūrnamradasam (cic, see §475) *svāsastham* (VS *†* ŚB *†°śhām*)
devebhyah VS TS KS ŚB TB KŚ Kauś *uru prathasvornam-*
radam svāsastham devebhyah MS

kṛṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhah (MS KS and most mss of MŚ *°ṣṭhāh*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ

yuvā kavīh puruṇiṣṭha (KS *°ṣṭhā*) *ṛtāvā* RV TS MS KS

nutro na (MS MŚ *nā*) *ehi sumatradhah* (TS KS *°dhāh*, MS **°dhah*)
soha rāyas poṣena VS TS MS KS ŚB

yō devānām nāmādhā (AV *°dhā*) *eka eva* (KS *eko asti*) RV AV VS TS
 MS KS

adabdhō gopāh (KS *†gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS *pari pātu visvatah*)
 RV TS KS

pravāyādhne 'har jīva MS *pravayāhñāhar jīva* VS The MS form is suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which are instrumental in form If correct it is a dative from *pra-va*, VS has instr of *pra-vā* The root is *vā*, 'blow'

§494 Other variants involving different related or quasi-related noun stems

aprajastām paultramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajasyam paultramṛtyam*
SMB *aprajāstvam mārtaṭasam* AV On stems *prajas* and *prajāś*
(*prajā*) see Wackernagel II 1 p 95 f

sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB 'sam *kṛnotu*) PG ApMB 'He
shall make thee (fem) me-mudded' Stems *man-maṣas* and
man-manasa

agnir adhyakṣah (TA °*ṣāh*) MS TA 'Agni is overlord' There is no
apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA, as if from stem
adhyakṣas! It is repeated in the comm, with gloss *svāmī*
satvanām (MS *salvānām*, KS *ṣaltvānām*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS
KS Stems *satvan* and *sattva*, MS has a bad writing for *sattv*,
cf §392

īmām narāh (*narah*) , see §323 Nom pl of stems *nara* and *nṛ*
ṭsrah kṣapas (TA °*pās*) *trir ahātivrājadbhīh* RV TA Stems *kṣap*
and *kṣapā*

tābhīr (TB *yabhīr*) *yāśi dūtyām* (MS °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV MS TB
Stems *dutya* and °*ya* (Pischel, *VSt* 1 22, Oldenberg, *Noten* on
6 58 3)

agne pṛthivīpate varuna dharmānām pate TB *agne pṛthivyā*
varuna dharmānām ŚŚ Stems *dharma* and °*man* (Also
listed in Conc under *varuna*)

§496 The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms
as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*, the former predomi-
nates earlier, the latter in the later language, cf Wackernagel III p
358 f

aṣṭasthuno daṣapakṣah Kauś *aṣṭapakṣām dasupukṣām* AV
astabhyah (KSA *aṣṭa*°, but ed em *aṣṭā*°) *ṣatebhyah svāhā* TS KSA
[*aṣṭābhyah* (Conc wrongly KSA *aṣṭa*°) *svaha* TS KSA]

[*agnaye gayatraya trurte rathamtarāyāṣṭākapālāh* (with varr) VS TS
MS KSA All texts *aṣṭa*°, Conc *aṣṭa*° for VS]

§496 A couple of doubtful cases

samudrasya tvāvakayū (TS ApŚ *tvāva*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
avaka, name of a water-plant, from *ava*, *avāka* presumably the same,
perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf similar
cases before *vant* and *van*, §467, and Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 118, where
this should in that case be added Boehlingk, 'die untere Eihaut'
for *avākā*, evidently thinking of *avā(ā)c*, Keith, 'wind', we see
little reason for either interpretation

nṛṛtm nṛjarjalpena (MS *nṛjalpena*, TS *nṛjālmakena*, KS *nṛ-
jālmāka-*) *śiṣṇā* VS TS MS KS Obscure word, see §510 TS
comm, followed by Keith, 'bald'

4 Non-final *a ā* in Noun Declension

§497 In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax, that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

§498 First, the forms *apas* and *āpas* are frequently interchanged as nom and acc of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p 240)

śam no bhavanti āpa oṣadhayah (6 23 3 *apa oṣadhīh*) *śivāh* AV 2 3 6, 6 23 3. But mss at 2 3 6 also *apa* (comm *āpah*), which Whitney's Translation restores, and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter, it furnishes the desired anapest after the cesura.

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu* (TS TB JB ApŚ *anu*, AV *divyā*) *acārīṣam* (JB *†acārīṣam*, AV *acāyīṣam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB ApG MG. Here the form is accusative.

§499 Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387 4, Wackernagel III p 235 f). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *sad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p 237, foot

divpāc catuṣpad (SV *divpāc catuṣpād*) *arjunī* RV SV
divpāc catuṣpad (AV VS Kauś *divpāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV AV VS VSK TS Kauś

catuṣpadām uta yo (TS *ca*) *divpadām* AV TS *catuṣpādā uta ye divpādah* KS MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular, different case forms
viśvā āśā dakṣīṇasat (AB AŚ °sāt, ŚŚ °tah, LŚ °dhak) VS MS AB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

§500 Twice Tait texts present vriddhi-grade forms of *pitṛ* in the bahuvrīhi compound *dakṣa-pitṛ*, which Wackernagel II 1 p 101 (cf also III p 200) properly compares with *tvāt-pitārāh*

sudakṣā dakṣapitārā (TB °tārā) RV TB
ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ *manu*) *sudakṣā dakṣapitāras* (TS † °tāras) TS MS KS BDh VīDh

§501 Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom pl *vṛṣanah* (Wackernagel III p 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vṛṣānah* *vṛṣanah* (TB *vṛṣānah*) *samudhīmahi* RV AV SV ŚB TB

§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *paśumānti*, from a *mant* stem (noted RPr 589 = 9 30), is replaced in SV by the regular form.

mūleva sadma paśumānti (SV °*mant*) *hotā* RV SV — Similarly
ava dronāni ghṛtavānti sīda (SV °*vanti roha*) RV SV

§502 As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom -acc of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p 288)

śarmā (TA °*ma*) *sapraṭhā āvr̥ne* KS TA *śarma yachātha sapraṭhah*
 AV But all mss of AV °*thāh*, which should doubtless be read,
 comm °*thah*

yachā nah (AV *yachāsmas*) *śarma sapraṭhah* (AV VS KS TA ApŚ
 ApMB HG °*thāh*) RV AV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG
 ApMB N

viśām agnīm atihim suprayasam (KS °*yāsam*) RV KS The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading, v Schr emends to °*yasam*, rather rashly, we think Cf Whitney §415b, 2, 3 (But Wackernagel III p 282 denies *ās* to other words than *uśas*) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV, which is unquestionably conservative and wise, but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it
ayā san (so read, MS *ayāh san*, KS ms *ayāsā*, ed emend *ayās san*)
manasā hitah (MS *kṛtah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB ApŚ
 ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ *ayāsā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB HG See next

ayā san (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*, KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayāsā ha° ū°* ApŚ ApMB HG The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts, a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom form with noms of stems in *as* See Geldner *VSt* 3 122 n 5, Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v, Wackernagel III p 282

§503 A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms

agne yan me tanvā (TS *tanvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan ma d pr̥na* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG Abl-gen sing of *u*-stem

anadvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ *lalpate vahan*) ApŚ MŚ The passage of MŚ is unpublished, if correctly reported, the ending of the nom sing pres pple would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems

§504 Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yuva-* is replaced by the later *yuvā-*

athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyaṁ RV *adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyaṁ*
KS But v 1 of KS *yuvā*^o

§505 Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender

svām (MS KS *svam*, MG *sva-*) *yonim garha svāhā AV VS TS MS KS*
ŚB MG *yon* may be masc or fem, the Tait school makes it fem in all the variants

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See prec

svam (TS *svām*) *yonim ihāsadah VS TS † MS KS* (No *svam* in TS)
yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām (MŚ *svam*) *yonim* TB ApŚ MŚ
[*svāmkrto* (KS *svam*^o) 'si VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Here
both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form]

dhruvam (TS *°vām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS
KS ŚB

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim* MS KS
mā mā hīṣīṣ svām (KS *svam*) *yonim* VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ
mainam hinsīṣam svām yonim AB

sa no dadātu tam (AV *tām*) *raym AV AA ŚŚ ray*, masc or fem
athāsmabhyam sahasvīrām (AV VSK MS KS *°ram*) *raym dāh AV*
VS VSK TS MS KS HG Cf prec

abhīmam (TS *°mām*, MS MŚ v 1 *°mān*) *mahinā* (VS MŚ v 1 *°mā*)
divam (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ

yā (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām VS TS MS ŚB NilarU ApMB*
iṣu, m or f

§506 These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yon*, *ray*, and *div*). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here. We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am*, *-ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc or neut adjective

indremam pratarām (VS TS ŚB *°rām*) *kṛdhi* (VS MS ŚB *naya*) AV
VS TS MS KS ŚB

ud enam uttarām (VS TS KS ŚB *°rām*) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś

jīvāṁve pratarām (RV *°ram*) *sādhayā dhīyah RV SV SMB*

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA † *°rām*, MG *pratīram*) RV AV TA
AG MG And others, see §575

asman kṣāye pratarām dīdyānah SV *adhī kṣamī pratarām dīdhyānah*
RV AV

§507 In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr sing and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom masc sing and plur of *a*-stems, as well as between masc or neut and fem forms, treated in §§505–6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom and accus pronouns *tvam* and *tvām*. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension.

surayā (MS KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS †MS °*ta*) *retah* VS MS KS † TB 'By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine'

surayā (MS *surāyāh*) *somah suta āsuto madāya* VS MS KS ŚB TA *dīkṣayedam* (KS *dīkṣāy°*) *haviṛ āgachalam nah* KS TB ApŚ. All mss and ed of KS read so, but it seems that it must be an error for *dīkṣay°*.

ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāh (MS °*nah*) RV TS MS KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS. *pra candramās tirate* (TS † °*ti*, AV † °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV AV TS MS KS N. Nom voc.

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāh (AV † *devah*) RV AV VS TB ApMB *devāh* voc pl, *devah* (lect fac) nom sing. Ppp ms *devāh*, wrongly emended to *devah* by Barret JAOS 35.88.

namah kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK °*yatāya*) VS VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS, which simulates an instr fem but is really uninterpretable.

tvāni (TB *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV MS KS TB. The construction is changed, both readings are construable.

5 Non-final *a* *ā* lexical and miscellaneous

§508 In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins, of the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment.

vedhām aśāsata (SV *medhām āśā°*) *śrīyṛ* RV SV † *ākṛān* (TA *ākṛān*) *samudrah prathame vidharman* RV SV PB TA MahānU N. Comm on TA *ākṛān ākrānīavān vyāptavān āgann apāna ātmānam* ŚŚ *agan prānah svargam* ŚŚ.

āganma (AŚ *ag°*) *vikṣavedasam* VS ŚB AŚ
āganma (SV *ag°*) *vrāhanlamam* RV SV AA ŚŚ
ūrdhvo adhvare asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara *asthāt*, KS 'dhvare *sthāh*, ApŚ
adhvare sthāt) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
agnaye samudham āhārṣam (ŚG GG *ahārṣam*) AG ŚG SMB GG
 PG HG ApMB
yad gharmah paryavartayat (MŚ *paryā°*) TB ApŚ MŚ
ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām AV SPP, Berlin ed *ajagan*, with slight
 ms authority, some mss *ājagan*, see Whitney's note on AV 19
 49 3

§509 Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition *ā*, before forms in short *a*

agne (RV *agne*) *yāhi suśastibhih* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt TS *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt* MS KS
patha anaktu (AV KS *°h*, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV VS TS
 MS KS

āsmāsu (KB *as°*) *nṛmnam dhāt* (KB *dhāh*) MS KB TA ŚŚ
kāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ *°ṣa ār°*) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ
tāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ Vait *°ṣa ār°*) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Vait
yasmin sūryā ārpitāh (KS †TB TA *ar°*) *sapta sākam* AV KS TB TA
indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām (TB Conc *āhv°*, Poona ed *ahv°*, comm
ahv° with v 1 *āhv°*) VS TB

agnaya upāhvayadhvam Vait *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SMB
agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva KS ApŚ MŚ In Vait *upa + ā*
[antarikṣam (VS *ān°*) *pṛthivīm adṛṇhū* VS TB But Poona ed of TB
ān°, which is clearly right]

§510 The pronouns *asmat* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' exchange

kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV TS * *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS
asmāt) RV AV TS MS KS
praty auhatām (MS *ūh°*) *āśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV *asmat*) AV VS TS
 KS MS TA

§511 The rest are miscellaneous

vratam rakṣanti viśvāhā AV *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV Probably both
 forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penulti-
 mate vowel lengthened in the RV form for some obscure reason, cf
śivā viśvāhā (*°ha*) etc, §477

ye te panthāno bahavo janāyanāh AV *ye te 'ryaman* (KS *arya°*) *bahavo*
devayāndh TS MS KS † 10 13a *jana-ayana deva-yāna* But
 rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here

gharmam pāta vasavo yayata (TA °ā, see §448, MS °trā) *vāḷ* (MS *veḷ*, TA *vaḷ*) VS MS ŚB TA *vaḷ*, *vāḷ*, or *veḷ*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation

āhalag (MS *ah°*, TS TB *āhalam*, KSA *ahalam*) *iti vañcati* (TS TB *sarpatḥ*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB An onomatopoeitic interjection All texts may intend *āh°*, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final -ā, comm on VS TS *āh°*, p p of MS, to be sure, *ah°*, in default of comm or p p there is no evidence as to which KS intended

añnāśya parah putrah ŚB *āhnāśya parasyādah* ŚŚ Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships

śatakṣaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ *śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś The Conc suggests *śatākṣ°* in ApŚ, but probably wrongly, Caland, 'der hundertstromige' (*sruva*)

agdhād eko samasanād ekah TS *adhvād eko sanād ekah sanā-sanād ekah* MŚ See §181

agnaye tvā mahyam āyur (MS *mayo*) *dātra edhī* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

añkāñkam (MS *añkāñ-añkam*, so p p, KS *añkañkam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB The curious shortening in KS seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening) Cf §362

āptye (AV *apṛtye*) *sam nayāmasi* RV AV See §878

vūtajavair (HG *vātājyair*) *balavadbhur manojavair* MS HG See §268

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV *upa vadāvaḥ*) RV SV See §60

āntrīmukhah HG *ālikhann hantrīmukhah* PG See §386

visvakarman bhavuna nām didāsitha (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ

See §840

§512 Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous

pra smā mināty ajarah RV KS *prāsmā minoty ajarah* ApŚ We cannot interpret *prāsmā*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *sma*) In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439

nīlāgalasālā AV 6 16 4c *nīlāgalamālāh śivah paśya* NīlarU 22b The true reading of NīlarU is certainly that of AV, see Jacob's *Concordance* s v, two mss and the comm read so, and the comm quotes AV 6 16 4

aśīrṣānā ahaya (SV °āno 'haya) *wa* RVKh SV *aśīrṣāna wāhayah* AV But we must read in RVKh as in SV, with Scheftelowitz (p 106)

agnis ca dahatam prati AV SV Misprinted *āgnis* in AV, see Whitney's note

atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA °*nāt*) *te mīnotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV TA, Conc *sadanā* for AV

asmān devāso 'valā (Conc 'vata) *haveṣu* AV † And others, all with *avalā*

ā na indo śatagnnam (SV misprinted *śāta*°) RV SV See Benfey's Corrigenda

arvān (GB *ārvañ*) *ehi somakāmam tvāhuh* GB etc Gaastra correctly *arvāñ*

viśve devā udīcyām tu abhiṣiñcantu (error for °*cyām tvābhi*°) *śreyase*

Rvidh *udīcyōm tvā dīsi mīve devāh abhiṣiñcantu* AB
jāmim (KS †*camī*) *mā hīnśīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ
mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām AV The KS (one ms only) must certainly be emended to *jāmim*

pavamāna vidharmanī RV SV Once misprinted *pavamānā* in SV, corr Benfey's Corrigenda

†*vārṣāharam sāma gāya* (correct Conc) MS ŚB MŚ *prastotar vārṣāharam sāma gāya* ApŚ

CHAPTER XII VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513 In contrast to the *a ā* variants, those between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between *i* *ī* and *u* *ū* as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long *i* and *u* declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an *ī* or *ū* historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence—See §§300–2 for variations between *ī*, *ū*, and short *i*, *u*, plus nasal, and §§395–8 for the like before single and double consonants.

1 Final short *i* lengthened phonetically

§514 We begin with cases in which final *i*, originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of *a ā*, we include not only absolutely final *i*, but *i* in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final *i*.

§515 The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a *pāda*. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose, of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the *pāda*. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*abhe aprā rodasī vi [vī] śa āvāh*, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for *i* to be lengthened before *v*, but also before *r* and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).

§516 First the cases of prepositional adverbs. Note that the following consonant is most commonly *v* (once *b*), but *r* is also frequent, and there are several cases of *ṣ*. The first five variants have *ṛ* absolutely final, not in composition, in four of them the older form of the variant has short *ṛ*. We add one case of the conjunction *yadā*.

vidad yadī (MS † *yadī*, TB ApŚ *yadī*) *saramā* RV VS MS KS
TB ApŚ See §63

abhī (SV PB *abhī*) *no vājasātāmam* RV SV PB

tena somābhī rakṣa nah RV *tebhīh somābhī* (TA °*bhī*) *rakṣa nah* (TA *nah*) RV TA

abhī na ā vavṛtsva RV *agne 'bhyāvartinn abhī mā nī vartasva* (with variants, Kauś *abhī na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś
See §648

mā tvā sūryo 'bhī (KS *sūryah pari*, ApŚ *sūryah parī*) *tāpsin māgnir*
(ApŚ *mo agnir*) *vaiśvānarah* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

obhe aprā rodasī vī (SV *vī*) *ṣa āyah* RV SV Here the meter favors *ṛ*, which SV introduces secondarily

agnim atirugbhyām (MS *atī*°) VS MS

adhivāsam (MS *adhī*°) *yā hiraṇyāny asmai* RV VS TS MS KSA

abhivartah (TS *abhī*°) *savitāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

abhīṣāhe (and *abhī*°) *svāhā* MS (both)

abhīṣāḥ (so ed em, Conc with ms °*ṣāḥ*) †*cābhīṣāhyas ca* KS *abhīṣāḥ*
cābhīṣāhī cābhīmātīḥaś LŚ *abhīṣāc cābhīṣavī ca* ApŚ

nīroho (PB *nī*°) 'ṣī TS PB

namo nīveṣyāya (p p *nī*°) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS *namo hradayyāya* (VS *hṛdayyāya*, KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS °*ṣyāya*) *ca* VS TS
KS

parītoṣāt tad arpitha ApŚ *parī doṣād ud arpithah* KŚ

parivādam parikṣavam AV *parivādam parikṣapam* ApMB

†† *bodhapratibodhau* AV *bodhāś ca tvā pratibodhāś ca rakṣatām* AV
bodhāś ca mā pratibodhāś (KS †*prati*°) *ca purastād gopāyalām* KS

MŚ *bodha pratibodhāśvapnānavadrāna gopāyamāna* KS

vivadhāś (KS *vī*°, MS *vivadham*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

vavarto (MS KS *vī*°) 'ṣī†*catvārīṇśah* (KS *aṣṭā*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§517 To these may be added a case of *antarīkṣa* for *antari*°, the old adverb *antari* is fairly comparable with prepositions in *ṛ* (most of which, presumably, were ancient prehistoric locatives, like *antari*). The form *antarīkṣa* crops up again in Buddhist Sanskrit, e.g. *Saddharma-pundarīka*, ed Kern and Nanjio, 149 1

svadhā pṛṭrbhyo 'ntarīkṣasadbhyah (AV *antari*°, GG † *'ntari*°) AV ApŚ
MŚ GG HG

§518 The only other absolutely final *i* concerns the imperative ending *dhi*, which appears sometimes as *dhi*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur, we may note that in the *pāda*. *sa no bodhi śrudhī havam* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ several mss of MS read *śrudhi*, but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its *pāda*, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following *pāda* begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant* II 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg* 421), that the lengthening in RV is due to the common cadence *śrudhī havam* (cf. *RVRep* 673, top). In all texts but one this *pāda* has *śrudhī*, and that one (AŚ) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the *pāda* being quoted in isolation there).

imam me varuna śrudhī (AŚ *śrudhi*) RV SV VS TS MS KS AŚ
ApMB

§519 Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants, the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *i*).

imam agne camasam mā vi jīhvarah (TA *jī*°) RV AV TA AG
yiyapsyata (AŚ *yī*°) *iva te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ Desiderative
from *yabh*, the form with *yī*° is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots.

udgrābhenod ajīgrabhat (KS *ajīgrabham* and *ajīgrbham*) MS KS

§520 There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *i* before the suffix *vant*.

mādhyamadinasya savanasya nīkēvalyasya bhāgasya śukravato (ApŚ adds *manthivato*) *madhuścūta* (KŚ * *manthivata*, v 1 *manthi*°) *indrāya* (MŚ *savanasya śukra*° *manthivato nīk*° *bhāgasyendraya*) KŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ Stem is *manthin* (weak *manthi*) + *vant*
paramēṣṭhī tvā sādayatū rāśmivatiṁ (MŚ *rāśmī*°) MS KS

§520a In one case *i* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *kr*, while the *i*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *in*-stem before *cārīn*.

ima udvāsikārīna ime TB ApŚ *imā uddhāśvārīna ime* MŚ
Cf. §59

§521 And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *i* as stem final of its first member
yā te agne harīśayā (VSK *harī*°, MS MŚ *harā*°) *tanūr varṣṣṭhā gahvar-*
eṣṭhā VS VSK ŚB (Pratīkas MS MŚ)

2 Final *i* in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522 No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II 1 §56 e-g (cf. also Leumann, *Gurupūyakaumudī* 13 ff.) It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening, that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, *i* was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis.

§523. Radical *i* is shortened in the word *senānī*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527), the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS alone has the shortening
tasya rathagṛtsaś (KS °*grtsaś*, MS °*grtsnaś*) *ca rathavujās ca senānī-*
grāmanyau (TS *senānī*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB. And so with
tārkyas cārīṣṭanemīś ca, senajic ca susenas ca, rathaprotas (TS
rathe°) *cāsamārathas ca, rathasvanas ca ratheritraś ca*

§524 The other cases concern the feminine nouns *prthivī* and (once) *prapharvī*

yā devy asīṣṭake prānadā prapharvidāh (ApŚ °*vidah*) KS ApŚ
namo 'gnaye prthivikṣite lokasprte (ChU *prthivikṣite lokakṣite*, MU
prthivikṣite lokasmṛte) TS KSA ChU MU

prthivīśadam (MS *prthivī*°, VS †°*sadam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS †adds
divīśadam devasadam) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

prthivīsprñ (MS *prthivī*°) *mā nu kṛṣṇih* MS TA

ye devā durbhāgā ye prthivībhāgās (TS KS *prthivī*°, but 2 mss. of
 KS °*vī*°) TS MS KS

svadhā pṛṭbhīyah prthivīśadbhīyah (MŚ GG *prthivī*°) AV ApŚ MŚ
 Kauś GG HG

3 Miscellaneous final *i* *i*

§525 There is very little else. On *na ced aveḍī* (*avedī*) etc., see §530 below, it does not belong here except by grace of Boehlingk's emendation, which is not justified. Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final *i* or *i*

agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti (MS °*ti*, TB °*śruto*) *divas* (TB *divah*)
prthivyoh MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ. The form is locative of an *i*-stem

MS is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?)
ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devī* (AV KS *dev*) *prathamānā prthag yat* (AV °*mānā purastāt*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ Nominative and vocative
stomatrayastrinśe bhuvanasya patni TS KS AŚ *stomas trayastrinśe bhu*² *patnī* MS As prec see §818
sam devī (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā* TS KS ApŚ
rātri (TB *rātrī*, v 1 of KS *rātrih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣṭ*) RV KS TB
satyād ā (ApŚ *satyā tā*) *dharmanas pati* (Vait MŚ *pari*) AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ
asvinendram na jāgrve (TB ° *vī*) VS MS TB The -*vī* form is a dual adj, and so Mahīdhara takes the -*vī* form also, but possibly it may be a neut sing adverb
gāyatrī (MG °*tri*) *chandasām mātā* (MG *mātah*) TA TAA MahānU MG Nom voc
na śīsarīdata (HG † *śīsarīdatah*) ApMB HG See §384

4 Noun stems in *i ī*

§526 It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax, many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

§527 We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *ī*. First, a case of the stem *senānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition.
namah senābhyah senānībhyas (VS TS °*nībhyas*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS

§528 In the same context occurs the following variant. Bochtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *śva-nī* 'leading dogs', this seems improbable in the light of the variants, both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith and Keith).

namah śvanabhyo (MS *śvanī*²) *mṛgayubhyas ca vo namah* VS MS KS
namo mṛgayubhyah śvanībhyas ca vo namah TS

Other cases of probably original *ī* are

sucakṣā aham akṣibhyām (MG *akṣi*°) *bhūyāsam* AG PG MG N The *ī*-form is regular in the older language Wackernagel III p 303
varūtrīm (KS † *varu*°, TS *varūtrīm*) *ivaṣṭur varunasya nābhīm* VS TS
 KS ŚB *ivaṣṭur varutrīm va*° *nā*° MS MŚ
rātrīm-rātrīm (AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV TS
 MS KS ŚB

rātrīm (KS *rātrīm*) *jñva* TS KS PB Vait

rātrīm (TS *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS KSA

śam rātrī (VS *rātrih*, VSK TA *rātrih*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK.
 MS TA

rātrīm (SMB PG MG °*rīm*) *dhenum wāyatīm* (AV *upāyatīm*) AV
 HG ApMB SMB PG MG

ye rātrīm (KS °*rīm*) *anutiṣṭhanti* (KS † °*ṣṭhatha*) AV KS

prati tvā parvatī (TS TB °*tv*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB MŚ See §490

veṣaśrīr (TS ° *śrīr*) *aśi* TS KS GB PB Vait LŚ

mahīnām (VSK *mahīnām*) *payo 'sī* VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
 MŚ ŚG Even from the stem *mahi*, the VSK form would be
 anomalous

hrādunibhyah (KSA °*nibhyah*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA This is uncertain,
 both short and long *ī* are otherwise known RV has *hrādunim*,
 but *hrādunī-vrt* See also *dūṣikābhīr hrādunim* etc, §543

śimūbhīh (KSA † *śimī*°, VS *śamī*°) *śimyanu* (VS *śam*°) *tvā* VS TS KSA
 §529. But in the rest stems in short *ī* seem to be primary

svāhākṛtibhyah (TS ApŚ and most mss of MŚ °*kṛtī*°) *preṣya* TS ŚB
 KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'To hail-makings', suffix *ti*

ayāś cāgne 'sy anabhiśastīś (AŚ ApMB HG °*tiś*) *ca* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ
 KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG Suffix *ti*, as in the last

ākūtīm (SMB °*tīm*) *devīm manasah* (SMB °*sā*, AV *subhagām*) *puro*
dadhe (SMB *prapadye*) AV TB SMB As prec

ātīr (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS
 TS MS KSA *ātī* is Rigvedic

abhiṣṭur (HG °*ṣṭir*, ApMB *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no gṛhe* (RVKh *ca me dhruvā*)
 RVKh ApMB HG

diva (*divas*, *divah*) *skambhanūr* (VS ŚB ° *nūr*, VSK † *skambhany*) *aśi*
 VS VSK TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Here fem gender is responsible
 for the long *ī*

śirah-śirah prati sūri vi caṣṭe TS ApŚ *śiro devī prati sūrīr vi caṣṭe* KS
 Here too *sūri* is made fem, agreeing with a fem entity

śronibhyām (TS *śronī*^o) *svāhā* TS KSA.

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB *°nī*^o, v 1 *°nī*^o) *bhāsadāt* RV ApMB

yakṣmam bhāsadyam śronibhyām bhāsam AV

mitrāvarunau śronibhyām (TS *śronī*^o) TS KSA

śam methir (ApMB *śam te methi*) *bhavaṭu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB *trdma*) AV ApMB

rtūn prṣṭibhih (KSA em *prṣṭibhih*, ms *bhr*^o) TS KSA Cf Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 358 f

prṣṭibhyah (KSA † *prṣṭ*^o) *svāhā* TS KSA

imām khandāmy oṣadhūm (ApMB *°dhīm*) RV AV ApMB

oṣadhībhyah MG *oṣadhībhyah* ŚG

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV

sam arir (VS ŚB *arīr*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB Nom sing of stem *ari*, the anomalous VS ŚB form is noted in BR, s v 2 *ari*

adhā jvri (AV *atha jvri*, ApMB *athā jvri*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB Stem *jvri* (or, with most mss of AV, *jvri*) RV has a dual form, ApMB an isolated sing from a stem in *i*, perhaps due to confusion between the RV and AV forms On the *i* of the initial syllable see §544

plāśir (TB *°śir*) *vyaktah śaladhāra utsah* VS MS KS TB

ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī MS *ambā dulā nitatnir* TS

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah RV *apo mahi vṛnute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV TB Here we have a complete change of construction, in addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form

in te bhavadm takarīm (KS *°rim*, AVPpp [Roth] *tagarim*, AV *mehanam*) AV TS KS ApŚ See §49 There is no way to determine the original quantity of the *i* here

§529a There are also cases in which a nom sing in *i*, apparently from a stem in *in*, varies with one in *ih* from a stem in *i* *vyānāśih* (SV *°śi*) *pavase soma dharmabhīh* (SV *dharmānā*) RV SV *tan no dantī* (TA *°thi*) *pracodayāt* MS TA MahānU Comm on TA *mahādantah*

dūrehetir vāriyāvān (PB † *°yavān*) *patatī* (PB *°trih*) TS PB TB PG ApMB *dūr*^o *patatī vājināvān* MŚ MG

suparno avyathir (SV *°thi*) *bharat* RV SV

§530 In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also verb forms

na ced aveṭi (BrhU *aveṭi*) *mahatī vinaṣṭih* ŚB BrhU So Conc, with

the printed texts But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation, mss *avedī* The Kāṇva recension, however, has *avedar*, and Kena Up (not in Conc.) *avedin*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [thus, it is] a great disaster') *avedar* would be nom sing of a noun stem *avedi* 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster' *avedī* is taken by comm as nom sing of *avedin* 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5 Verb forms containing *z ī* and *z ī* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531 This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character

suśam samīṣva (TS TB *śamīṣva*, KS *†śamīṣva*) VS TS MS KS TB *awanty asya pavitāram* (SV *pavi*°) *āsavaḥ* RV SV The shortening of SV improves the meter (anapest after cesura)

§532 The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure *antarikṣam puritā* (TS *puri*°, MS *pulī*°, KSA *pulī*°) VS VSK TS MS KSA

ulo hahikṣno (TS *ūlo hahī*°) VS TS MS KSA Name of some animal A theory as to the origin of this *ī* in Wackernagel, I §39 note

§533 At least in origin, the *z* of the *z* aorist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf VV I p 189

tena (TB *tato*) *no mitrāvarunāv* (MS *°nā*) *aviṣtam* (TB *avi*°) RV MS TB The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin The *ī* of TB is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avī* So in the next

amīmadanta pītaro (Kauś also *patnyo*) *yathābhāgam* () *āvṛṣāyīṣata* (AŚ *°yīṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ LŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG Cf prec

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS °yīd, KSA °yed, MS *ghanayīd*) *dhūmagandhīh*
RV VS TS MS KSA This is the converse of the preceding,
TS shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms
ata ū ſu madhu madhunābhī yodhī TS *adah su madhu madhunābhī*
yodhīh RV AV SV AA MŚ On the anomalous TS form see
VV I p 27

ā gharṇo agnir ṛṭayann asādi (TA °dīt) RV TA *ā gharṇo agnir*
amṛto na sādī MS See VV I §84

§534 Probably rhythmic in character is the ī which varies with i
in denominative stems before the *ya*-sign, cf VV I p 155, and above
§478 where the same shift occurs between *a* and *ā*

putrīyantaḥ (AV *putrīyanti*) *sudānavah* RV AV SV
janīyanto nū (AV *janīyanti nāu*) *agravah* RV SV AV AŚ ŚŚ

§535 In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening
of i in stem syllables, at least it occurs in positions where the meter
favors a long

prati sma (SV *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV *rīṣ°*, and so p p of RV and MS)
RV SV MS KS TB The p p readings confirm our opinion that
the ī is metri gratia

avāmba (VS ŚB KŚ *ava*) *rudram adimahi* (VS ŚB KŚ *adi°*, and so
v l of MS KS MŚ, and p p of MS) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§536 But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some
cases where it cannot be rhythmic, the explanation varies and is some-
times obscure

sarvān patho anṛnā ā kṣīyema (AV *kṣī°*) AV TB TA ApŚ The root
kṣī 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with ī, perhaps under
the influence of the other root *kṣī* 'perish', from which ī forms are
familiar

yūpāyocchriyamānāyānubrūhi (MŚ °chriya°) ApŚ MŚ Here the ī,
in the passive of *śri*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in
MŚ with most mss

samvīṅgayati (ŚB *samī°*) *sarvataḥ* RV ŚB BṛhU The root *vīṅ* appears
sporadically as *vīṅ* in the Brāhmanas, the true reading of BṛhU
is *samīṅg°* in this passage (text emended)

§537. Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *ṛ* and *ṛyā*, *ṛī*
ajitāḥ (TA *ajītāḥ*, ApMB and one ms of HG *ajītā*) *syāma saradaḥ*
śatam TA ApMB HG

vājino vājyulo vājam sasṛvāṇso (KS *ṛgīvāṇso*, TS *sasṛvāṇso vājam*
ṛgīvāṇso) VS TS KS ŚB

§538 We have classified the form *iyāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *ι*, see VV I p 126

iyānah (SV *iy*^o) *kṛṇo daśabhūh sahasrah* RV SV AV KS. TA

ślotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav iyānah (SV *iy*^o) RV AV SV

§539. The participle *īdita* appears as *īd*^o, probably under the influence of the nouns *īd*, *idā*

īdita (MS KS *īd*^o, VSK *īl*^o) *devair harivān abhiṣṭh* VS VSK MS KS TB

§540 The present and past passive participles of root *kṣi* 'perish', *kṣīnat* and *kṣīna*, are concerned in the following

namo vīkṣīnatkebhyaḥ (TS KS *vīkṣīnak*^o) VS TS KS ŚB *nama ākṣīnakebhyaḥ* MS If MS is right it has a blend of the other two readings, but the mss vary, and it is likely that *ākṣīnak*^o was intended

The 3 plur perfect ending *ire* appears once as *īre* *tāh prācyu* (Vait *īyah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjagāhīre* (KŚ† *īre*, Vait *samjigāire*) KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhīre* ApŚ

6 Noun suffixes containing *ι* *ī*

§541. Twice in MS the suffix *īya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*, but both times the p p of MS has *īya*

namo agrīyāya (VS KS *'gryāya*, MS *'grīyāya*) *ca prathamāya ca* VS TS MS KS

sahasrīyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatām*, MS *sahasrīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

§541a We have quoted in §249 (q v) three variants in which AV reads *varīyah* for older *varivah*

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhī* RV AV *asmabhyam mahi varivah sugam kah* RV

sakhā sakhībhyo varivah (AV **varīyah*, so one ms of GB, Ppp *varivah*) *kṛnotu* RV AV **TS KS GB*

tvaṣṭā no atra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV TS

§542 Several times forms in *īna* vary with other forms containing short *ι*

yā sarasvatī veśabhagīnā (ApŚ **vīśobh*^o, KS *veśabhaginī*) MS KS

ApŚ *-bhagīna*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here, KS substitutes a more regular form (fem of *bhagin*)

tiraścīrājī (MS *tiraścīnarājī*) *raṣṭā* AV MS Again *īna* varies with *in* (weak stem *ι*)

namo yuvabhyo nama āśīnebhyah RV ApŚ *namo yuvabhya āśīnebhyas*

(MS *āṣṭ*°, p p *āṣṭ*°) *ca vo namah* (MS *namo-namah*) MS KS *āṣṭina* is *ἀπ λεγ* in RV, in MS it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *ina*

§543 The shortening of *i* to *ɪ* before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings Cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 95 f, 111 *dūṣṭikābhīr hrādunim* (KSA *†hra*°) TS KSA *hrādunīr dūṣṭikābhīh* VS MS

7 Miscellaneous *ɪ* and *i*

§544 Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious *imkāṛāya*, and *°kṛtāya* (KSA *im*°, VS MS ŚB *him*°) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ

īryatāyā (TB *ir*°) *akṛtavam* VS TB From the equivalent adjective forms *īrya* (RV) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v *īrya*)

uṣṭārayoh pīwayoh (ApŚ *pīwayoh*) MS ApŚ MŚ Cf the word *pīlu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree Obscure

vīdvīr yāman avardhayan VS *vīdvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB Comm on TB *dṛdhaśaktayāh*, that is equivalent to *vīdu*, for which *vidu* is not recorded

adhā jivṛt (AV *atha jivṛt*, most mss *jivṛt*, which Whitney would restore, ApMB *athā jivṛt*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā*(*ji*) or *ji* The *i* in the first syllable in ApMB is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jiv* or of the *i* forms of *jyā* or *ji* (*jirna* etc) See §529

anamivāsa idāyā (MS *anamīmāsā idāyā*, p p *idāyā*) *madantah* RV MS TB AŚ The MS form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of *id*? cf the lexically quoted *idā*), corrected in p p *dame-dame suṣṭutā* (TS ° *tīr*, MS ° *tī*, AŚ ŚŚ ° *tīr*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV ° *nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iyānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ Different case forms of an *i*-stem See §236

sanderathas sandikera ulūkhalah ApMB *sāndīkera* (PG *saundikeya*) *ulūkhalah* HG PG See §489

§545 The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations, thus in the first *subhūtāya pīpīhi* (MS *pīpīhi*) MS TA ApŚ And others, with *īṣe*, *ūrje*, *brahmavarasāya*, etc In MS always *pīpīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpīhi* is from *pyā*(*pī*) 'swell' The result, how-

- ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity, cf VV I p 182
- sarasvatī tvā maghavanā abhīṣṇak* (TB ApŚ *abhīṣṇat*) RV AV VS MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ See §142
- sudītir asī* TS PB *sudītir asī* KS GB Vait *sudītīnādītyebhya ādītyān jīva* MS Boehtlingk *sudīti* Anklang an Aditi, *sudīti* glanzvoll (dī) *Sudīti* is Rigvedic
- viśvam id dhītām* (MS *dhītām*) *ānāśuh* (SV *āsata*) RV AV SV MS ApŚ Roots *dhī* and *dhā*
- tigmam āyudham* (AV *anīkam*) *vidītām* (AV *vidītām*, KS °*dhām idītām*) *sahasat* AV TS MS KS See §169
- kavir yah putrah sa im ā* (TA *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV AV TA N
- atī vā* (AV Kauś *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate nah* RV AV Kauś Metathesis of quantity
- śan padam magham* *ṛayīṣine na kāmam* (AA *rayīṣanī na somah*) SV AA *rayi-ṣin rayi-san* (so Keith, or, -*sanī*)
- ghasīnā* (ApŚ *ghasīnā*) *me mā sampṛkthāh* VSK ApŚ Corruption in ApŚ, perhaps for *ghāsīnā* (RV *ghāsi*), with metathesis of quantity? Cf Caland's note
- ā yāhi sūra haribhyām* (SV KB ŚŚ *harīha*, AŚ *harī tha*) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless read, in all except AV, *harīha* (= *harī tha*), with Whitney on AV and Keith on KB
- gaurīr* (TB TA °*ri*, AV *gaur in*) *mimāya sahlāni takṣatī* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG
- indrāpāsya phaligam* ApMB *indrāyayūśya śephām alīkam* HG See §46
- samuddho agnir vṛṣanāratir* (AV °*nā rathī*, ŚŚ °*nā rayir*) *divah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ
- rādānsī* (MS MŚ °*si*) *sampṛcānāv* (MS MŚ °*nā*) *asam°* MS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS And others, see §180
- [*atīkīrīṣam* (comm °*riṣam*) *atīdanturam* TB So Cone with Bibl Ind ed, probably misprint, Poona ed comm with text *atīkīrīṣam*]
- [*ṛvañkrīr* (so all!) *āśvasya svadhītīh sam eti* RV VS TS KSA]

8 Final *u* lengthened

§146. As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i*, and add nothing further to the subject.

§547 Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS).

o šu (MS *šū*) *varṭta* (MS KS *varṭa*) *maruto vipram aha* RV MS KS
taṁ ū (MS *u*) *śucim śucayo dīdīvātsam* RV ArS TS MS KS
imam ū (MS *u*, p p *ū[m]*, and MŚ *ū*) *śu tvam asmākam* (TA ApS
tyam asmabhyam) RV SV MS TA ApS MŚ

idam ta ekam para ū (TB † ApS † *u*) *ta ekam* RV AV SV KS † TB
TA AŚ ŚŚ ApS MŚ (*u-ta* = *ula*). On *puru purū*, a matter of noun inflexion, see §555.

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*, the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf VV I p 132.

grhān ajūgupatam yuvam AŚ *grhān* (MŚ *grhān*) *jugupatam yuvam*
MS MŚ

prajāṁ me (ApS **no*) *naryājūgupah* (ApS and MŚ v l **jūgupah*)
MS KS ApS MŚ

paśūn me (ApS **nah*) *śaṁsyājūgupah* (ApS and MŚ v l **jūgupah*)
MS MŚ ApS *ghanam me śaṁsyājūgupah* KS *śaṁsya paśūn me*
'jugupas tūn me pāhy eva ŚŚ. And others in the same passages
akṛbūdhnīya mantram me 'jugupah (v l '*jū*') MŚ

§549 There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant*.

śantre tvarbhūmate (VS ŚB *tva ṛbhū*°, MS *tvarbhū*°) VS MS ŚB
TA. If MS understands a form of *ṛbhū*°, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS (see §916), and two MSS read *śvarbhūmate*.

§550. In the scansion of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū*. The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf under §516).

anuroham jīvva Vait anuroho (KS *anū*°) 'si TS KS GB PB Vait
anurohāya tvā PB Vait *anūrohenānūrohāyānūroham jīvva* MS
(with p p and v l each time *anu*°)

anuvṛd (KS *anū*°) *asi* KS GB PB Vait *anuvṛte* (KS *anū*°) *tvā* KS
PB Vait *anuvṛtam jīvva* Vait *tanūvṛtānūvṛte 'nūvṛj jīvva* MS
panthām anūvṛgbhyām (KSA *anu*°) TS KSA

anukāśena bāhyam MS *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS *antarenānūkāśam*
TS KSA

§551 Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*, in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts

sandhātā sandhim (MS °*dhur*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB and p p of MS *puro*°, MS *puru*°) RV AV SV MS PB. TA KŚ ApMB

urūnasāv (TA *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV TA °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA *ulu*°) RV AV TA AŚ

mathucarantam (TS *mithuś ca*°, KS *mithū*°, AV *mathuyā ca*°) *upayāti* (AV *abhīyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV TS MS KS

sandhoh śrīśumārah (KSA † *śrīū*°) TS KSA *samudrāya śrīśumārah* VS MS See §305 Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain

§552 Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū* *u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf also §563)

brahmanas pate suyamasya (MS *sū*°, p p *su*°) *viśvahā* RV MS TB
The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura)

suyame me adya gṛtāci bhūyāstam svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau ApŚ *suyame me bhūyāstam* VS ŚB *sūyame me 'dya stam svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau* MS MS

kuyavam ca me 'kṣitiś (VS °*lam*) *ca me* VS MS KS (v 1 *kū*° in MS) *akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS

9 Final *ū* shortened

§553 Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening

kūṣṭho (read *kū ṣṭho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV *ku ṣṭhah ko vām aśvinā* SV
See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5 74 1

10 Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554 The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of *-bhū*, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition

hanūbhīyām (KSA *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS KSA TB ApŚ

hanubhyām (TS *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavah* VS TS MS KS In this and the prec Tait texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*

agne sadakṣah satanur (KS † °nūr) *hī bhūtā* TS KS *agnih sudakṣah sultanur ha bhūtā* MŚ

kūrāso ye tanūtyajah (TA *tanu°*) RV AV TA Note that two consonants follow the *ū*, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening

iyam te yajñīyā tanūh (VSK *tanuh*) VS VSK ŚB ApŚ

avasyur (VS ŚB °syūr) *asī duvasvān* VS TS MS KS PB ŚB ŚŚ

śundhyur (VS TS °yūr) *asī mārjālīyah* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ

Only -yu in RV

ārādhyai (see §474) †*adhiṣṭupatim* TB *arāddhyā edidhiṣṭupatim* VS (on the latter see §381)

varenyakratūr (AV °tur, ApŚ *idenyakratūr*) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ

Whitney calls 'tūr 'an improvement' See also §383

vibhūr (PB *vibhur*) *asī pravāhanah* VS TS MS ŚB. TB PB ApŚ. MŚ

vibhūr (KSA *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA *prabhuh*) *pitṛā* VS TS MS

KSA ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

śambhūr (KS °bhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB

Note *mayobhūr* even in KS

ābhūr (VS TS *ābhur*) *asya nīṣaṅgathih* (VS °dhih) VS TS MS KS

savitre tvārbhumate (etc., §549) *vibhumate* (MŚ *vibhū°*) VS MS ŚB

TA

phalgūr (KSA °gur) *lohatornā* VS TS MS KSA

havanāśrūn (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhī* RV TB Comm on

TB *dhvānasya śrotā san* Irregular lengthening of *śru* in composition

§555 Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom-acc forms, both sing and plur, in either *u* or *ū*

sa hī purū (SV *puru*) *cīd ojasā virukmatā* RV SV Adverbial

[*sam grbhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed *purū-*) *satā* RV AV MS KS TB]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*

dadhad ratnam āyunī (AV *āyūnī*) AV AŚ ŚŚ See §819

vṛṣā punāna āyusu (SV *āyūnī*) RV SV

§556 In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the *ū* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel
kratūdakṣābhyām me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK ŚB *dakṣakratubhyām* (sc *me* etc.) TS ApŚ *dakṣakratubhyām me varcodāh pavasva* MŚ

§557 The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c) In the ApŚ form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhūh*, and conversely in the KS form *ūr* before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound, note that in the 'correct' MŚ form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur. Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc, stigmatizes KS *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for **ram*) as corrupt, and Knauer proposes to emend KS on the basis of MŚ. But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants.

yathādhuram (KS *ms dhūran*) *dhuro* (KS *dhūro*) *dhūrbhūh kalpanām*
KS MŚ *yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhūh kalpanām* ApŚ

11 Other *u* *ū*

§558 The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing. In verb inflexion there is practically nothing. Once TB presents an anomalous *ūh* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uh*, it occurs at the end of a *pāda*, and remains unexplained.
upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh (TB *gūh*) RV MS TB

§559 The various forms of the root *su*, *sū*, 'beget, enliven' etc., show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel. Thus *praśāstah pra suhī* (KŚ *sūhī*, MŚ *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suhī*) AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ. Both *sūhī* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p 189 it is suggested that *suhī* is a blend of the two. Cf next

ardhamāsyam prasūtāt pitryāvatah JB pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitryāvatah
KBU. Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *sūta*, but *suta* is recorded otherwise. JB 1 18 has v 1 *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, JAOS 19 [2], 112, 115, delete in Conc *tam ardhamāsam*)

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*

abhyasikṇi rājābhūm (ApŚ **bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhisikṇa rājābhuvam*
(v 1 **bhūvam*) MŚ

§560 Quite similarly *vah* (weak stem *uh*) and *ūh* are 'in some forms and meanings hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*), indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *ūhyate*) as identical from the two roots. Of course they are ultimately variants of each other.

mā hñisīsur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB † *ūhyamānam*) AV ApMB. Here *ūh* does not fit very well, AV means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds' (In ApMB the pple is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off').

samūhyo 'si viśvabharāh ŚŚ samūhyo 'si viśvabharāh ApŚ *samūhyo 'si viśvavedā* VSK KŚ. Here, contrary to the prec, it is *sam-ūh* that is meant, even in ŚŚ.

phalgunībhyām vy ūhyate ApG *phalgunīṣu vy uhyate* AV Kauś

§561 The present participle of the 'root' *tūr* varies with the related adjective *tura*

tūrvan (KS *turo*) *na yāmann etasasya nū rane* RV VS TS MS KS

§562. Several times the word *varutrī* *varūtrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vr* 'cover', varies in its two forms

varūtrīṣ (twā (KS *varutrīs* twā) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīh* VS KS ŚB KŚ

varūtrayo janayas twā devīr TS *varūtrī* (once, 2 7 6, †*varu*°,

and so *v* *l* in the other passage) *twā devī viśva*° MS (bis)

tvaṣṭur varutrīm varunasya nābhim MS MŚ *varūtrīm* (VS ŚB °*trīm*,

KS † *varutrīm*) *tvaṣṭur var*° *nā*° VS TS KS ŚB

varutrīr avayan KS *varūtrayas †tvāvayan* ApŚ

§563 The word *sumna* or *sū*° has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times, yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf. §547) also appear with *sū*

sumnāya (VS *sū*°) *nūnam īmahe sakhībhyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS

ŚB Kauś

dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā (AV °*yau*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS

MS KS ŚB

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form, but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread

viśno (°*noh*, °*nos*) *stupo* (TS TB ApŚ *stūpo*) 's_i VS TS MS KS ŚB

TB ApŚ MŚ *viśnoh stupah* MS MŚ

reṣmānam stupena (MS *stū*°, but *p p stu*°!) VS MS

§564 The word *ūrva*, on which see last Neisser *ZWbch d RV*, s v, may be ultimately connected with *uru*. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption

urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran AV *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman* RV KS See §46

uru (AŚ once *urvy*, once *ūrvy*) *antarīkṣam vīhi* MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ.

(bis) ApŚ MŚ We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf. Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint

ūrva (TB *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmō asme* RV †3 90 19c, TB N Comm on TB *urva* *iva*, *vādavāgnir iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūrva*

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmvāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ

See §228

§565 The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank'

kulyābhyah (TS *kū*^o) *svāhā* TS KSA Here the TS comm takes *kū*^o as a secondary adjective from *kūla*, but it is probably only an equivalent of *kulyā*, cf next Keith, 'to those of the pools'

medasah (HG * *ājyasya*) *kulyā* (HG *kū*^o) *upa tām* (AG *upainān*, SMB *abhi tām*) *śravantu* (HG ApMB *kṣarantu*) VS AG ŚG Kauś SMB HG ApMB *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhinmśravantu* MG. Cf also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* in Conc, and prec Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *ku*^o

§566 The form *pūruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV, but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA Poona ed reads *pu*^o with v l *pu*^o

ato (AV ArS ChU *tato*) *jyāyānś ca pūruṣah* (TA *pu*^o) RV AV ArS VS TA ChU

§567 Twice the RV writes *ūgra* for *ugra* According to Oldenberg, *Nolen* on 1 165 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*svarita* accent followed by an accented syllable, cf Wackernagel I p 293 f) One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p p *hi*, *ugrah* Both *pādas* occur in the same hymn

aham hy ugras (RV *ū*^o) *taviṣas taviṣmān* RV MS KS TB

aham hy ugro (RV *ū*^o) *maruto vidānah* RV MS KS

§568 Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words

ūlena parimūdhō 'sī HG *ūlena pariṣīto 'sī* ApMB Followed by *parimūdhō 'sy ūlena* HG *pariṣīto 'sy ūlena* ApMB *utūla parimūdhō 'sī*

PG The meaning of *ula* or *ūla* is unknown Cf next

ulo hahikṣno (TS *ūlo hali*^o) VS TS MS KSA Cf prec Here apparently some animal is meant

godhūmāś ca me masūrāś (TS and KapS *masu*^o) *ca me* VS TS MS KS

Both forms are otherwise known, *masūra* seems to be commoner *hotā vedīṣad atithir duronasa* (VS *dū*^o, but comm *du*^o) RV VS VSK TS MS KS AB ŚB TA *MahānU* KU NṛpU VaradapU The word *dūrona*, for the usual *duronā* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded

kurkuro nīlabandhanah HG *kūrkuro bālabandhanah* (ApMB *vālu*^o)

PG ApMB The usual form is *kurkura*, perhaps cf Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant) Cf next

kurkurah sukurkurah HG *kūrkurah* (ApMB °ras) *sukūrkurah* PG
ApMB Cf prec

kuṣmāṇḍāh, °dānī, °dyah, and *kuṣ*°, *kūṣ*°, *kūṣ*° See §290
prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṭhāh (AV *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ *bhūma ne*°) AV AŚ
ŚŚ Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma*(n)

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV

āpura stā ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā* TS AŚ

atikulvam (VSK °*kūlvan*) *cātīlomaṣam ca* VS VSK *kulva* 'bald', regularly
with short u

agnaye dhūñkṣṇā (KSA °*kṣā*) TS KSA *dhūñkṣāgneṣṭi* (VSK °*kṣvā*°
or °*kṣyā*°) VS VSK MS Said to mean a sort of bird, original
form and precise meaning unknown

uṣo (PB *ūṣā*) *dadṛkṣe* (PB *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatīva* RV PB Conc
suggests reading *uṣā* in PB

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantīkā* AV ApMB The latter is sec-
ondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants) Cf §151

§669 The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated,
except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra*
and *ūrdhva*

ugro (HG *ūrdhvo*, MG *agne*) *virājann* (MG °*jam*) *apa* (MG *upa*-)
sedha (AV *vrñkṣva*) *satrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV ApMB HG MG

ugradhanvā (TS MS KS *ūrdhavadha*°) *prathitābhīr astā* RV AV SV
VS TS MS KS

ud vanṣam va yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvan kham va menire*
Mbh

yad annam admi (PrānāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrānāgU *virād*-
dham, vv ll *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV TA PrānāgU

brahmādhiguptah (etc) *brahmābhigūrtam*, see §742

athā jivah (KS *adhā viṣṭah*, VS ŚB *athaitam*, AV *adomadam*) *pītum*
(AV *annam*) *addhi prasūtah* (TS MS KS *pramuktah*) AV VS TS
MS KS ŚB

aghnyau śūnam (AV *aghnyāv aśunam*) *āratām* RV AV *śūna* 'want'
aśuna 'unprosperity'

suhutakṛtah stha AŚ *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ

udem (SV *ūtim*) *arbbe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS In RV etc *uta-im*,
in SV acc of *ūti* But the Samhitās contain no actual variation in
quantity of the u vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding
final u

sā brahmanjāyā vi dūnoti rāṣṭram AV *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahma*-
jyasya AV 'Burns up' 'shatters'

trīni padāni rūpo anv arohat AV pañca padāni rūpo anv aroham RV

Read *rupo* in AV , with many mss , comm , and Whitney's Transl
udno (AV text *ūdhno*) *divyasya no dehi* (AV MS *dhātah*) AV TS MS

KS *ūdhno* is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note
 Cf §106

namo vah pitarah śuṣmāya (VS ŚŚ *śoṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*)

VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720

CHAPTER XIII QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

1 Short *a* and *i*

§570 The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them. That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

§571 We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut, it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *sakya* (by which TA comm glosses *śikya*). One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman*, *śikvas*), according to Wackernagel (I c, p 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ* *salām śikyah* (MahānU *śa*^o, v 1 *śv*^o) *provacanaṣa* TA MahānU.

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in *dātum cec chikṣān sa* (TA *chaknuvānsah*, or ^o*vān sa*) *svarga eva* (TA *eṣām*) AV TA. See §826.

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots *śam śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant *pādas* VS uses only *sam*, TS KS only *śim*.

śamibhūh śamyantu tvā VS *śimibhūh* (KSA *†śim*^o) *śimiyantu tvā* TS
KSA

kas te gātrāni śamyatī (TS KSA śim°) VS TS KSA

māsā āchyantu śamyantah VS *māsās chyantu śmyantah* TS KSA

śimāh (KSA Conc śimām, ed with v l śimāh, VS śimāh) *kṛvantu* (VS * śamyantu) *śmyantah* (VS śamyantāh) VS TS KSA Note that VS denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading śimāh with *s*, not ś (comm interprets by śimā rekhāh)

sūcibhiḥ śamyantu (TS KSA śim°, MS śamayantu) tvā VS TS MS KSA

§573 Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf Wackernagel I §21, but most of the cases are obscure or dubious, only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar, SV has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*hari*) for the old and rarer *hri*

hriśmaśrum (SV *hari*°) *nārvānam* (SV *na varmanā*) *dhanarcam* (SV °cim) RV SV

asyai nāryā upastare (ApMB °stire) AV ApMB Infinitive forms, Whitney emends to °stire with Ppp

śiśirāya vikakarān (KS *ṭvikarān*, ApŚ *vikarān*, vv ll *vikakarān*, *vikakirān*) VS KS ApŚ Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning

sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ With *karasyu* cf the noun *kāras*, RV ?

rudra yat te krayī (VS KS *kriṇi*, VSK *kraṇi*, MS MŚ *gri*°) *param nāma* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47, all the forms are unintelligible

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e g the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently, and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e* i) also appears among the verbal variants (§582) Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite homonyms

§575 First, cases in which *r* follows (cf §578) Here we find two cases in which *pratara*, that is *pra-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with the root *tṛ* 'cross' The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA †*pratarām*, MG *pratīram*) *dadhānāh* (AV **te dadhām*) RV AV TA AG MG *dirgham āyuh pratīrad bheṣajāni* TB *āyur dadhānāh pratarām navīyah* AV Here *pratīrad* is a verb-form (*prakarṣeṇa dadātu*, comm), *pratarām* an adverb (comm *prakarṣeṇa*), *pratīram*, if correct, is the R̥gvedic infinitive *pratīram*, but all but one of Knauer's mss read *pratarām* in MŚ

aganma yatra pratīrantā (MG *pratarām na*) *āyuh* RV AV MG

§576 Before other consonants than *r* (cf §570 ff), here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁvś*, which are listed in §281 Formally even closer are two variants between *kṣan* 'injure' and *kṣi* 'destroy', also virtual synonyms

indra wāriṣṭo akṣatah (AV *akṣitah*) RV AV

akṣatam asy (SMB omits *asy*) *arīṣṭam* SMB ŚG *akṣitam* (*akṣitir*) *asī* (see §586)

prthwī darvir akṣitāparimīlānupadastā (ViDh *akṣatā*) Kauś ViDh *yathāgnir akṣito* ApMB HG

§577 Other near-synonyms

yajñam devebhīr anvitam (TS TB *inv*) TS MS ApŚ TB †1 4 4 5b 'Accompanied' (*anu* + *i*) 'impelled'

śīṣīte śrīṇge rakṣase (AV *rakṣobhyo*) *vinakṣe* (KS *vinakṣe*, AV mss **nakṣe*) RV AV TS MS KS *nikṣ* 'pierce' *naś* (as if causative) 'destroy' But no such form of *naś* is otherwise recorded, and the KS form is questionable

pavamāno daśasyati (SV *dīś*) RV SV Benfey would derive the SV form from stem *dīśas* = *dīs* (lex, and class in composition)

§578 Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false readings or corruptions First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *i*) and particles (*ha* *hi*, etc)

ato (AV MahānU *ito*, TB *tato*) *dharmāni dhārayan* RV AV SV VS TB MahānU

pūrvō ha (TA MahānU *hi*) *jātaḥ* (JUB *jajñe*) *sa u garbhe antaḥ* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚirasU JUB

rṣir ha (ŚŚ *hi*) *dirghaśrutimāḥ* TS MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ

eṣo (TA MahānU *eṣa*, ŚirasU *eko*) *ha* (TA MahānU *hi*) *devaḥ pradīśo 'nu sarvāḥ* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚirasU

viśvam hi (KS *ha*) *ripam pravahanti* (MS **tu*) *devīḥ* RV AV VS MS KS ŚB

agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtvā MŚ *agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS †
°nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS

śreṣṭho ha (Sāyana, AV Introd p 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhyātah* GB
amutrabhūyād adha (AV *adhī*) *yad yamasya* AV VS TS MS KS TAA
anūdā yadi jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cid ā*)

RV SV Two cases in the same pāda

vācā cit prayatam (AŚ *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ
duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV *turaś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān*
AV

tāv ehi (AV *iha*, AB *eha*, MG *tā eva*) AV AB AG ŚG PG MG

Others, §888 *ehi* contains the verb *ihi*, *eha* is probably corrupt
(Weber, *ISi* 10 160), and *eva* is certainly secondary

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ
asūrte (TS MS KS °tā) *sūrte* (TS °tā) *rajasī* (TS °so) *niṣatte* (MS
°tā, KS *na sattā*, TS *vimāne*) RV VS TS MS KS N

mā no agne 'va (MG *vi*) *ṣṛjo aghāya* RV AG MG

śūryo apo vi (MG 'va) *gāhate* MS ApŚ MG

Miscellaneous pronominal forms

āre asman (MS NīlarU *asmin*) *nī dhehi tam* VS TS MS KS NīlarU
asmat 'from us' *asmin* 'in it' or 'in him' MS has v l *asman*,
and its p p *asmat*

prajāyai kam (AV *kim*) *amṛtam nāvṛnūta* RV AV Both forms are used
as particles here

yad vā me api (LŚ 'pi, Vait *apa*) *gachah* AŚ Vait LŚ

yo gā udījad apa (MS *api*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

ahir jaghāna (PG *dadarśa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* AG PG ApMB

HG MG Here true pronoun forms, no one' 'nothing'

māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣah RV SV VS *maiṣām kam canoc chiṣah* TS

TB ApŚ *maiṣām uc cheṣi kim cana* AV As in prec

§579 Remoter lexical variants

mā no vidad (KS *vadhīd*) *abhibhā mo āsustih* AV KS TB ApŚ These

forms are still quasi-synonyms, 'find' (in a hostile sense) 'injure'

dhyutāno vājibhir yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV 'Guided' 'placed'

jāmim itvā (Poona ed *jāmi mitvā*) *mā vimlśi lokān* (Poona ed *lokāt*)

TA *jāmim ṛtvā mūva palsi lokāt* AV See §198

śukrām vayanīy asurāya narnīyam RV *śukrā vi yanīy asurāya narnīye*
SV

vātajavair (HG *vālājirair*) , see §268

anarṣarātum (SV *alarṣirātum*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV SV AV N See
§292

hṛtsu kratum varuno (**nam*) *vikṣu* (*apsu*, *dikṣu*) *agnim*, see §360
mitrāvarunā śaradāhndm (MS **nā*) *cikittvū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jagatvū*,
 AŚ *cikittvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45

tisro yāvasya (MS MŚ *jihvasya*) *samādhah parjymanah* RV MS ApŚ
 MŚ See §192

viśvakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ
 See §840

abhi dyumnām (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS
devahitam yaviṣṭhya) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

rāyah syāma rathyo yayasvatah (TB *vivasvatah*) RV MS TB See §255
yaso (AŚ *dīso*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇām* (AŚ **nāh*) TB AŚ

agnih pareṣu (AŚ *pratneṣu*, SV VS ŚB *prīyeṣu*) *dhāmasu* AV SV VS
 ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

hinvāno hetṛbhur yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV

ahvandāya svāhā KSA *iluvardāya svāhā* TB ApŚ Followed by
bahvardāya (KSA **vandāya*), which suggests that KSA has an
 assimilated form

sam padam magham trayīṣine na kāmam (AA *rayiṣani na somah*)
 SV AA See §545

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsvi* (SMB
bhṛjāsvi, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB HG ApMB

māham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV *mahī no vātī śha vāntu bhūman*
 AV Metathesis of *a* and *i*

§580 The following seem to be false readings

ahim (RVKh *aham*) *dandenāgatam* RVKh AV Both words make good
 sense, but Scheftelowitz (p 62) reads *ahim* for RVKh with his *nis*
tādūtnā (TB Poona ed *†tādīknā*) *śatrum* (TB *satrūn*) *na kilā vivitse*
 (TB *vivatse*) RV TB But Poona ed *vivitse*, comm gloss *na*
labhase

gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān (AV *ma ichāt*, TB with two AV *mas*
†achāt) RV AV KS TB *achān* is the only intelligible reading and
 is adopted by Whitney, see VV I p 130

[*añjīsakthāya* (KSA **ṣak*°, Conc **ṣik*°) *svāhā* TS KSA]

[*namah saspīñjarāya* (TS *sasp*°, Conc wrongly *śṛṣp*° for MS) *trīṣimate*
 VS TS MS KS]

[*mā no vadhih* (Conc *vidhih* for TS, wrongly) *pītarām* RV VS TS
 TAA MŚ]

§581 In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants
 Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i*, included are
 some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems

pra bhānavah sisrate (SV *sa°*) *nākam acha* RV AV SV VS TS MS

On this and the two next see VV I §272

vr̥ṣāva cakradad (and *°do*) *vane* RV *vr̥ṣo acikradad vane* SV See prec
lāh prācyā (Vait *°yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjgāhīre* (KŚ *°īre*, Vait *samjī-*
gāīre) KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīś cojjgāhīre* ApŚ See prec two
stotāram id didhīṣeya (SV *dadhīṣe*) *radāvaso* RV AV SV See VV I
 , p 90

hastagrābhasya didhīṣos (AV *da°*) *tavedam* (TA *tvam etat*) RV AV TA
 Manymss of AV *da°*, which Whitney would read Cf however next
vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā didhīṣo* (MS *da°*) *havīṣṣi* MS KS TB N
 Cf prec The MS reading is not certain, several mss *di°*

§582 In present formations of different classes

suvirābhīs tīrate (SV TS *tarati*) RV SV TS KS Note the
 following *r* (§573)

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣayema*
 Vait 1st and 4th class presents, VV I p 125 In the latter *y* is
 epenthetic

yac ca prānūti (AV *°ati*) *yac ca na* AV ŚB † TB BṛhU † 1st and 2d class
 presents, VV I p 123

yah prānūti (AV *prānati*) *ya im śṛnoty uktam* RV AV Cf prec
kati kṛtvah prānūti cāpānati ca (ŚB *prānūti cāpa cānūti*) GB ŚB Cf
 prec two

ni śṭanīhi (AV *abhi śṭana*) *duritā bādhamānah* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS Cf prec three

§583 The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf Whitney
 §1030

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ *ali°*) AB ŚŚ An aorist in AB See VV I
 p 87

sa bhikṣamāno (SV *bha°*) *amṛtasya cārunah* RV SV Both *bhikṣ* (a
 sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhag*, but function
 as quasi-independent roots

§584 In various miscellaneous verb forms,

ajīapata (TS TB *°jīpata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS TB MŚ See VV I
 p 192 Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists, the form with
 radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by
 that of the simple root

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ
 ŚG HG See VV I p 133

nābhā samdāyi navyasi (SV *°dāya navyase*) RV SV *samdāyi* is 3d sing
 passive aor, *samdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb)

yenā samatsu sāsahāh (SV °*kih*, MŚ °*hi*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ
 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV (perfect subj) 'where-
 by (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV (adjective) In MŚ
 the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(thy) mind' in
 prec

sam indra no (no) manasā neṣi (AV *neṣa*) *gobhīh* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB See VV I p 105

pitā no bodhi (TA *bodha*) VS ŚB TA See VV I p 123

a i in noun formation

§585 The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes. Phonetics has little to do with them, at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and *i* may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous. Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *ta* with nouns of action or abstracts in *ti*, the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages. Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *ti*, or the nouns in *ti* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles. Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na ni* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra ri*, patronymics in *ka ki*, heterochtic stems in *a(an) i*, stems in *ana in(a)*, stems in *in* (in composition *i*) *a(n)*, stems in *a-ka ikā*, and a remnant of unclassifiable *a i* forms.

§586 We begin with the suffixes *ta ti*, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning, see also §599 below
yam akṣitam (ŚŚ N °*tim*) *akṣitayah pibanti* TS ŚŚ N *yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti* AV *yathākṣitam akṣitayah pibanti* (KS °*yo madanti*) MS KS 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV imperishable ones) drink (or the like)'

akṣitam asī mā pitṛnām (with variants) *kṣeṣthā* ApG ApMB HG BDh *akṣitam asī mā me kṣeṣthāh* TS *akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyāh* MS *akṣitir asī mā me kṣeṣthā* VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ And other variations

apā vṛdhi parvṛtam (TB Conc °*vṛttim*, Poona ed text and comm °*vṛtim*) *na rādhah* RV TB 'Open up as it were hidden treasure' 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'

bradhnaś cid atra (SV *yasya*) *vāto na jūtah* (SV *jūtim*) RV SV *jūtah* 'speedy', adj with *vāto*, *jūtim* 'speed', with change of construction

pra samrājo (SV °jam) *asurasya praśastim* (SV °tam) RV SV KB
akrātram varṣan pūrtir dūrī (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat*, KS *vavṛṣvān*
pūta rāvat) *svāhā* TS MS KS

§587 These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *ti*

puṣṭapate rakṣuṣe MS *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °pate) *puṣṭiś* AŚ ApŚ
pro ayāśid indur indrasya niṣkṛtam RV SV PB *pra vā etindur indrasya*
niṣkṛtim AV

nyañ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °tim) RV AV KS
ākṛtim (MS MŚ MG °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS
 ŚB MŚ MG

vāco vdhṛtim (MS °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 In same passage with prec

sviṣṭar (MŚ v l °tim) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS MŚ *sviṣṭim no abhi*
 (KS 'bhi) *vasiyo* (AV *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KS

kṛnulam nah sviṣṭim (MS KS °tam) VS TS MS KS

mayi puṣṭim (AV °tam) *†puṣṭipatir* (AV *puṣṭa*°, KS **puṣṭipatnī*)
dadhātu (AG †*dadhātu*) AV MS KS (four times) TAA MahānU
 ApŚ AG SMB

kuyavam ca me 'kṣitiś (VS 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS MS KS *akṣitiś ca me*
kūyavās ca me TS

[*ōdityās te citim* (KS Conc wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS ApŚ]

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °nītir, KS *°dhītam,
 v l °dhītim, KS * [38 12b] †°nītha, KapS °dhītam or °tim, MS
 °dhīte) *yajñar* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 °nītha is a variant for °nīta, see §93

§588 Coming to variants between *na* and *ni*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī*

asapatnā sapatnaghñī (ApMB °nighñī) RV ApMB ApG Cf *sapatnī*,
 for which *sapatni* is recorded in the Rāmāyana (BR)

gandharvāya janavide (ApMB *janī*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG Cf the stems
janī and *janī* Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both
 radical, not suffixal (disyllabic root *jan*)

somāya janavide (MG *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG In same passage as prec
teṣām yo ayyānim (PG 'jyānim) *ajītim āvahāt* (SMB Conc *ajītm*
āvahāh, but Jorgensen text and comm as others) TS SMB PG
 BDh *teṣām ayyānim* (MŚ °nam) *yatamo vahāh* (KS MŚ *na*
āvahāt) AV KS MŚ *a-jyā-ni*, 'non-oppression' *a-jyā-na* id, not
 recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *ana*, which appears
 as *na* after *ā*

hṛanyapakṣaḥ śakunīḥ HG *hṛanyaparna śakune* PG *hṛanyavarnah śakunah* MU

pururūpam surelasam maghonam (TB °nim) VS TB *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc sing of *maghavan* (cf RV *maghonas*, nom plur) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem, *maghonim* (masc) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same TB comm *annavantam*, VS comm *maghavantam dhanavantam*

§589 Of the suffixes *ra ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri* °ra The usual form is °ri, but °ra occurs elsewhere, however in this passage the MS p p reads *tittirih*
mandūko mūṣikā tittiris (MS °ras) *te sarpānām* VS MS Cf §598, *varṣābhyas*

§590 The suffixes *ka* and *ki* exchange in patronymics, really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k*, all occur in the same passage

śaunakam (ŚG °kim) AG ŚG
kaholam kauṣītakam (ŚG °kim) AG ŚG
mahākauṣītakam (ŚG °kim) AG †ŚG

§591 Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan asthi*

asthabhyah (KSA *asthi*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA
ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohitaḥ (MahānU *puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohitaḥ*) *dehi dehi dadāpayitā me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds)

anākṣikāya (KSA °akāya) *svāhā* TS KSA
anasthikāya (KSA °akāya) *svāhā* TS KSA

§592 A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at*

dhruvas tiṣṭhāncācalih (AV MS KS °calat) RV AV VS TS MS KS
ŚB TB

parvala vāncācalih (AV MS KS °calat) RV AV VS TS MS KS
ŚB TB

dadhiv (SV *dadhā*) *yo dhāyī sa te* (SV *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV
enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām TS *eno mahac cakṛvān baddha ṛeṣa* MS

§593 Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (ina)

tan nau samvananam kṛtam MG *tena samvanināu svake* HG *samvanana* 'concord' *samvanin* 'concordant'

manyoh krodhasya nāṣanī PG *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB *mṛdhrasya*) *nāṣinī* ApMB HG Femmines of *nāṣana nāṣin*

mā no vidad (KS *vṛhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS TB ApŚ °*anā*) *dveṣyā tṛyā* AV
KS TB ApŚ Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise
unknown

śunām agram suvīrinah (ApMB *subīranah*) ApMB HG Cf next
subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB *suvīrinah sṛja-sṛja* HG Epithets of
dogs, of unknown origin and meaning

§594 Variations between stems in *in* (in composition *i*) and stems
in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*)

tasya te †*vājṛpīlasyopahūlasyopahūto* (Vait *vājṛpīlasyopahūto*, LŚ
vājṛpīlasyopahūta [text °*hata*] *upahūlasya*) *bhakṣayāmī* AŚ LŚ
Vait *tasya te vājṛbhīr bhakṣamkṛtasya vājṛbhīr sūlasya vājṛpīlasya*
vājṛnasyopahūlasyopahūto bhakṣayāmī ApŚ *vājy aham vājṛnasy-*
opahūta upahūlasya bhakṣayāmī VSK KŚ

vājam tvāgne Vait *vājī tvā* ApŚ MŚ *vājnam tvā vājīn*
KS *vājnam tvā vājedyāyī* (*śapatnasāham*) VS VSK TS
ŚB

ava jyām (HG *dyām*) *iva dhanvanah* (HG *dhanvnnah*) AV ApMB HG
See §159

matsvā suśīpra (SV °*prīn*) *harīwas tad* (SV *tam*) *īmahe* RV SV
bodhinmanā (SV *bodhan*°) *id astu nah* RV SV In SV pres pple,
bodhat

§595 Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i*
replaces *a*, see Edgerton, JAOS 31 95 f

vidyutam kanīnikābhyām (VS *kanīna*°) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanā-*
nakābhyām TS

vṛtrasyāsi (KS *mītrasy*°) *kanīnikā* (VS ŚB °*akah*) VS MS KS ŚB
MŚ MG *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*akāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ
agner akṣnah kanīnakam (VSK °*kām*, TS MS KS °*ikām*) VS VSK TS
MS KS ŚB

nī galgalīṭh dhārakā VS ŚB *nī jalgulīṭh* (KSA *ms tjalgalūṭh*, em
°*lūt*) *dhānikā* TS KSA

avajhvaḥ nājhvaḥ ApMB *avajhva nājhva* HG Here, in a
masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous, it may be corrupt,
or may be based on thought of a form **jihvin*, with suffixal *in*

§596 The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a i* in suffixes and endings
tasmīn ma indro rucīm ā dadhātu AV *tasmīn somo rucam ā dadhātu*
HG ApMB Stems *ruca* and *ruc* Cf next

hriṣmaśrum nāvānam dhanarcam RV *hriṣmaśrum na varmanā*
dhanarcam SV Stems *rc* and *rc-i* (possibly with confused thought
of *arcis*?)

- kuwayah* (KSA °y^h, VS TS *kvay^h*) *kuṭarur dātyauhas te vājūm* (TS KSA *smūvālyai*) VS TS MS KSA A name of an unknown animal, p p of MS also *kuway^h*
- indrah* (ŚŚ °as) *patis tvaṣṭamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣu ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*) AV AA ŚŚ Stems *tavas* and *tvaṣ-* (the latter not used as a separate word)
- tilvīlāstām* (ed misprinted *tilva*°, see Stenzler's Transl p 83 n) *irāvatiṃ* AG *tilvīlā sthājirāvalī* ŚG *tilvālā sthīrāvalī* MG † 2 11 12b *tilvīlā syād irāvati* ApMB The word is otherwise *tilvīla*, probably MG is to be emended
- vi śloka etu* (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūmh*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS †*sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU
- agne varcasvīn* (VSK °van) *varcasvāns* (ŚŚ °vī) *tvam deveṣu asī varcasvān* (ŚŚ °vy) *aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ
- pradakṣiṇin* (AV °nam) *marutām stomam ṛdhyām* (MS *aśyām*) RV AV MS TB The old adverb *pradakṣiṇi*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV
- mānasya patnī śaranā syonā* AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG *harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB °atā) *marutvah* RV TB N See §122 and VV I §86
- kṛkalāśah* (KSA *kṛki*°) *pīppakā śakunīs* (TS KSA *śak*° *pi*°) *te śaravyāyai* VS TS MS KSA Of uncertain origin, simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛki-*

2 Long ā and ī

§597. These variants are few The most interesting group concerns ā varying with ī as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings ī and ā in this connexion These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples

- samhātāḥ nīśvarūpā* (VS ŚB ŚŚ °pī, TS ApŚ *°pī^h) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis)
- upasthāvarābhyo dāśam* VS *upasthāvarābhyo †barindam* (so Poona ed text and comm) TB
- sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB °padā) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś SMB ApMB MG

śivā rūtasya (TS and v 1 of MS *rudrasya*, VSK *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °jā) VS VSK TS MS KS See §684

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not)

grāhrah śtikakṣī vārdhrānasas te dwyāh (KSA *vārhi°*, ed em *vārdhri°*, te 'dityāh) TS KSA The word (otherwise spelled with ī) seems at least to be felt as a compound, cf *vārdhra*?

uṣṭro ghr̥nāvān vārdhrānasas (MS *ghr̥nāvān vārdhrā°*) te *matya* VS MS Cf prec , p p of MS *vārdhri°* In *ghr°* we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS °thālavas, VSK *māndhālas*) te *pitṛnām* VS VSK MS *pāñktraḥ* (KSA *†pāñktaḥ*, mss of both *pāmtra-*) *kaśo mānthālavas* (KSA *†man°*) te *pitṛnām* (KSA *†pitṛ°*) TS KSA See §77

yā te agne hariśayā (VSK *harī°*, MS *MŚ harā°*) *tanūr* VS VSK ŚB (Pratikas MS *MŚ*) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*

vidyutam kanīṣkābhyām (VS *kanīna°*) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanā-nakābhyām* TS Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here

§598 The other variations of *ā* and *i* are very miscellaneous, mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort

agne tejasvī tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh TS *agna āyuhkārāyuṣmāns tvam tejasvān deveṣu edhī* MS See also *agne varcasvī* etc , §596 *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS °yāvān, *MŚ °yavān*) TS KS *MŚ*

śivā vīsvāha (VS °hā) *bheṣajī* (TS °habheṣajī, MS °jā) VS TS MS KS *viśvacarṣanīḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān* (AV *sahīyān*) RV AV MS

śilpā vaiśvadevīḥ (VS °vyah) VS MS *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS KSA

Fem and masc forms, nom plur

samānī va ākūtīḥ RV AV TB AG *samūtīnā vā* (KS *va*) *ākūtīnā* MS KS MG *i* of fem sing *ā* of neut plur

varṣābhyas tutirīn (MS °rān) VS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ Acc plur of the words which vary in §589

dhīyā manotā prathamō manīṣī (SV °mā *manīṣā*) RV SV 'The foremost intelligent one' 'intelligence'

sā śamtātī (SV °tā, TB ApŚ °cī) *mayas karad apa sruḍhaḥ* RV SV TB ApŚ *śamtātī* acc neut, and *śamtātā* loc sing, from *śamtātī*, on *śantācī* see §156

aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni (VS and v 1 of MS 'sthāni) *ca me* VS TS MS KS

Stems *asthan asth*

teṣām sam hanmo akṣāni (AV *sam dadhmo akṣāni*) RV AV (Ppp has *akṣāni*) Stems *akṣan akṣ*

bahu ha vā ayam avarṣṭa MS *bahu hāyam avṛṣād* (KS 'ṣad)

TS KS See VV I p 129

tisro ha prajā atyāyam āyan (JB *īyuh*) AV JB Imperfect and perfect of *ī*

In VV I p 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in (n)ā (n)ī, which we shall not repeat here Add the following

śrñīhi vīśvataḥ prati RV *śrñāhi vīśvatas pari* SV

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvī* As was to be expected, the form in *tvī* is regularly the older *avād dhavyāni surabhīni kṛtvā* (RV VS *kṛtvī*) RV AV VS TS ApŚ SMB

kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvā (RV 'tvī) RV AV ApMB

kṛtvī (AV *kṛtvā*) *devair nakilbīṣam* RV AV

kṛtvī (AV *kṛtvā*) *savarnām adadur* (AV *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV AV N *pūtvī* (SV TS *pūtvā*) *śipre avepayah* RV SV AV VS TS ŚB

vayo ye bhūtvī (AV 'tvā) *patayanti naktabhiḥ* RV AV

svinnah snātvī (AV 'tvā, VS ŚB *snāto*) *malād va* AV VS MS KS ŚB TB

hitvī (SV *hitvā*) *śtro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV *rārapac*) *carat* RV SV

apālām indra (MG 'ras) *triṣ (trih) pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, ApMB *pūrtvī*, MG *pūrti a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG

3 a and ī with shift of quantity

§599 Here are found only a few stray variants too few to classify Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality, these will not be repeated We begin with variants of ā and ī, the first two belong with those of a and ī in §586

prācīm jīvātum akṣitām (ŚŚ ŚG 'tim) AV TS MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG AG † (Stenzler's Translation, p 36 n) ApMB N

vyacasvatīṣayanī subhūtīh AŚ MS *vīśvavyacā iṣayanī subhūtīh* (KS 'tā) TS KS In the latter *subhūtā* is an adjective going with *aditir* in the next pāda

tan no durgā (TA 'gih) *pracodayāt* TA MahānU Durgī for Durgā seems to occur only here

śrīyo (AV TB 'yam) *vasānāś carati svarocīh* (TB 'cāh) RV AV VS KS TB

āṅgūṣānām (SV *aṅgoṣṇam*) *avāvasanta vānīh* RV SV Different case-forms of *a* and *in* stems

adhī kṣama vṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā vṣva*^o) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB

kara ād (SV *id*) *arthayāsa it* RV SV

anādhṛṣṭā VS MS KS ŚB *anābhṛṣṭā* TS See §176

§600 Between *a* and *i* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic
sīrāh (TS MS KS *sarāh*, AV *sarā*) *patatrinī* (TS MS KS *ṇīh*)
sthana (KS *stha*, AV *bhūlvā*) RV AV VS TS MS KS Besides
the synonymous *sarā* and *sīrā*, *sīrā* is also found (RV) All are
from root *sr*, cf. §§570, 573

amṣṭendūrlām puram (TA *purīm*) AV TA Equivalent stems *pur*
and (later) *puri*

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakikāṛīm (TB *kaṇṭakakāṛam*) VS TB Both the
stem of the first member, and the entire cpd, show shift in gender
nayanto garbham vanām dhīyam dhūh RV *nayantam gīrbhīr vanā*
dhīyam dhāh SV Lexical

āsminn (KS *ā sim*) *ugrā* (MS *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ
Lexical

vīrenyah kratuṛ indrah suśastīh RV *varenyakratūr* (AV *ṇtur*, ApŚ
īdenya^o) *aham RVKh* AV ApŚ See §§383, 554

4 Interchange of short *a* and *u*

§601 Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which
seems to have no parallel among the *a i* variants, in which *a* varies
with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly
concerned in the shift. To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained
historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms,
representing *ū* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in
short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel. Phonetic and
morphological matters are no doubt blended here. But the occurrence
of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the
belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded. The great majority
of the forms concern roots in *ū*. There is to be observed a striking
tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV, and the like seems to be largely
true of MS.

§602 In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms
which show this variation. The following are those from *ū* roots
acikradat evapā iha bhuvat (Ppp *bhavat*, Barret, JAOS 30 244) AV

Ppp Add to VV I l c

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS KS TB † [Poona ed text and comm]
ApŚ *bruvan*) VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS *bruvat*) RV AV KS

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā uti bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV

pra bravāma (MS *bruvāma*, v 1 *bra*°) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TĀ ApMB
ApG HG MG

sammūṣṭo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV

uta trātā kivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS
Kauś

nemūś cakram wābhavat (SV MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuvah*) RV SV

yad dūre sann ihābhavah (SV °*bhuvah*) RV SV MŚ N

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

asapatnā kilābhavam (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB *asapatnah kilā-*
bhum RV

sampriyah (TĀ °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB TĀ ApŚ *bhuvat*)
MS TB TĀ ApŚ

maruṣantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV †*huvemahi*) RV †1 101 1-7, SV
[*svāveśo anamīvo bhavā* (Conc wrongly *bhuwā* for ApMB) *nah* RV TS
MS SMB PG ApMB]

§603 From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer

abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) *gīrah* RV SV (It is not quite clear
whether this is originally a short or long *u* root) Here SV goes
counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV *uv*

upa śravat (MS *sruvat*, p p *śra*°) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV MS On the
anomalous and doubtful MS form cf VV I p 106

tad aham niḥnave (ŚŚ °*nuve*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ To be added to VV I
§193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents, the latter (*hnute*)
is more regular

neḍiya ut sṛnyah pakvam ā yavan (Ppp *yuvan*, Barret, JAOS 30 207)
AV Ppp (Others, see Conc) Add to VV I l c

§604 The same shift is found in noun formation and declension,
both *ū* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems
abhibhve (MS °*bhve*, KS °*bhave*) *svāhā* MS VS KS TB ApŚ And, in
same passage.

vbhve (MS *vbhve*, KS †*vbhve*) *svāhā*, same texts

samudram na suhavam (*suhavam*, *subhavas*) , *mahiṣam nah subhvam*
(*subhavas*) , see §119

indrāh (ŚŚ °*as*) *patīs tvaṣṭamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣu ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*)
AV AA ŚŚ Cf §596

śtibhrawo (MS °*bhruwo*) *vasūnām* VS MS

puṇṣavanam puṇṣavanam AG *puṇṣavanam aṣi* ApMB The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV)

tad vprāso vpanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV VS NṛpU VasuU SkandaU ArunU MuktiU

lā vām gūrbhīr vpanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV

sumndyuvah (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS MŚ

tasya prajā apsarasas bhīruvāh (MS *bhīravo nāma*) TS MS

§605 Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff, we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo kuru*. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par- pur-*, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work.

sukarīrā svopaśā (v 1 *svau*°) MS *sukurīrā svapupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB

The usual form is *kurīra*, the etymology is unknown. If MS is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*).

avabhṛtha nūcampuna (TS TB ApŚ *nūcāṅkuna*, MS KS MŚ *nūcūñkuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ MŚ ApŚ N. See §150. Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words.

nūceru aṣi nūcumpunah (TS TB *nūcāṅkuna*, MS KS *nūcūñkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ Cf prec

samkasuko vīkasukah AV MS *samkusuko vīkusukah* TA ApŚ The root is *kas* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows. Cf next

asmin vāyam samkasuke (ApŚ °*kusuke*) AV ApŚ Cf prec

nī nūartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by *b*, a labial consonant.

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya*, v 1 °*kuṣya*) *juhudhī* MS ApŚ MŚ

Here the original form was neither *a* nor *u*, but *r*, see §631.

tuce tanāya (SV Svidh *tunāya*) *taḥ su nah* RV SV Svidh. The SV form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*.

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a* *u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal, assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *karo-*, *karu-* (VV I p 116 f, and references there quoted) Most of the other words are obscure, often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel

karanam (TS *karunam*) *asi* TS AŚ ŚŚ Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work', but *karanam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karunam* in this variant *varano vārayātar* (and, *vārayiṣyati*) AV *varuno vārayāt* TA The root *vr*, like *kr*, has dissyllabic forms in *u* It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuna* is derived from it, the god's name (if the reading is correct, Poona ed has *varano* with *v* I *varuno*) is here used obviously with punning intent

So with the verb-forms *vanate* *vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p 121, whatever their grammatical classification (discussed I c), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u*

agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *varsate*) *rayim* RV SV VS VSK TS MS KS

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§607 The rest are more dubious in character

pīvo (VS MS *pīvo*, KSA *bīvo*) *nyāñkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS *kakūṭhas*, TS KSA *kaṣas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA *°yāh*) VS TS MS KSA There may be assimilation in VS or dissimilation in MS, but the forms are wholly obscure

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB *°tunam*, ŚŚ *sajoṣanam*) AV AB GB JB ŚŚ Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal, yet the variant seems to belong in feeling to this group No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetuna* is recorded later, and cf RV *cetu*

somasya rājñah kulunḡah TS *somāya kuluṅḡah* (MS *kulaṅḡah*) VS MS *somāya rājñe kuluṅḡah* KSA The usual form is *kuraṅḡa*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable In both this and the next variant MS *p p* has *kulu°*, contrariwise VS comm reads in both *kula°*, glossing *kuraṅḡa*

sādhyebhyah kuluṅḡān (MS *kulaṅḡān*) VS MS Cf prec

yādase śābalyām (TB *śābulyām*) VS TB *parā dehī śāmulyam* (ApMB *śābalyam*) RV AV ApMB Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words, *śāmulya* means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with *śābala* 'spotted' A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS TB, whose *comm*s interpret 'a woman with spotted skin', the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b* ApMB is clearly thinking of *śābala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment', in RV AV ApMB reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night Cf §241

§608 Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation First a group in which the common synonyms *cakṣas* and *cakṣus* interchange Note the misreading *cakṣaṣṭi sāmavedasya* in GB Bibl Ind ed, which is a mere misprint for *cakṣuṣṭi* as shown by the following §, Gaastra reads correctly *cakṣuṣṭi* *Cakṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *cakṣus*

namah samudrasya cakṣase (PB *cakṣuṣe*) TS MS KS JB PB LŚ
apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah RV *apo mahi vṛnute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV
āryuṣ ca prāryuṣ ca cakṣaṣ ca vicakṣaṣ (ApŚ *cakṣus ca vicakṣuṣ*) ca
 MS ApŚ

§609 Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation

tarakṣuh (KSA †^o*kṣah*) *kṛṇah* TS KSA Both forms otherwise recorded, original unknown

sādhu (SV *sādhaḥ*) *kṛṇvantam avase* RV SV As the accent of *sā'dhu* shows (see Wackernagel II 1 p 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*

tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā RV ApMB *sā mandasānā manasā śvena* AV Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically, but resembles the case of *cakṣas cakṣus*, §608, superficially

dawyā minānā manasā (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB
sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ Cf §573

ārdrāh prathasnur (MŚ †*prthasnur*, v 1 *prathasnur*) *bhūwanasya gopāh* TB ApŚ MŚ Knauer, note on MŚ, would understand *prathasnu* (TB *comm* *prathanaśilo*) as dialectic by-form of *prthasnu*

samsṛṣṭam ubhayam kṛtam (KŚ *abhayam kratum*) KS TB KŚ ApŚ
Note metathesis of *a u* in KŚ, which is poor and secondary, and
cf next

puṣṭīkasthālā (KS † *puṣṭīyga*°) *ca kṛtasthālā* (VS ŚB *kratu*°) *cāpasarasau*
VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, compounded of *kṛta* 'kratu',
cf prec Really lexical, since the words are radically not related
dhanasṛptam (MS *dhanu*°, but p p *dhana*°) *śūśwānsam sudakṣam* RV
MS *dhanu*° could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of
'wealth-winning', it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by
assimilation to the *u* vowels of the following

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a
shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitar*
gṛtāvati savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*tyah*) TS MS KS AŚ

'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'

§611 In verb inflexion, morphological change between *a* and *u* vowels
is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect
indicative) endings, (n)*tu* (n)*ta* The instances are gathered in VV I,
mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics
are hardly concerned We add a few other stray cases

adārasṛd bhavata (AV °*tu*) *deva soma* AV TB ApŚ *bhavata* seems
uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see
VV I p 283

ā pitaram vaiśvānaram avase kah (PB *kuh*! comm *akah*, glossed *kuru*)

PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *kuh* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a
gross corruption for *kah* ('kah'), VV I p 283

§612 The remaining cases of *a u* are purely lexical A large group
concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms
as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other,
also the pronoun *sa*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa su*, of
various character, are included here

ye sajātāḥ samanasaḥ (Kauś *su*°) TB ApŚ Kauś *ye samānūḥ samana-*
sah VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

śatam jīvema śaradāḥ sarvavīrāḥ (TB *savīrāḥ*, ApŚ *suīrāḥ*) AV TB
ApŚ

ā tvā vahantu harayah śucetasah (ApMB *sa*°) MS ApMB HG

ādityāsah sumahasah (SV *sa*°) *kṛnotana* RV SV

agnīḥ sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtā MŚ *agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS †
°*nūr*) *hi bhūtā* TS KS

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS *savṛdhvane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS
suṛdhvane) *ca* VS TS MS KS

sajātānām śraṣṭhya ā dhehy enam AV TS *sa^a madhye śraṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā* MS *śajātānām śraṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS
tad vo astu eucelanam (JB *°tunam*, ŚŚ *saḥjanam*) AV AB GB
 JB ŚŚ

marutvān astu ganavān sajātavān (AŚ *śajātavah*) TB AŚ
akah su (TS *sa*) *lokam sukṛtam prthivyāh* (VS ŚB *°vyām*) VS TS MS
 KS ŚB Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*
ayam sa (ŚŚ *su*) *vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam* AV AŚ ŚŚ
pra sumartyam (*su mṛtyum*) *yuyolana* SMB ApMB *pra sa mṛtyum*
yuyolana HG Here *sa* seems uninterpretable, Conc would
 read *su*

dadhā yo dhāyi sute vayānsi SV *dadhur yo dhāyi sa te vayānsi* RV
 Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of
 different character, involving false divisions of words
samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsrṣṭāsu*
yulev indro ganeṣu MS

ṛcaksāh (MŚ *śucaksāh*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm and Poona ed *śuśrug*,
 MŚ *śasruḍ*) *astu* TB MŚ If Poona ed is right, TB has *śu-*, the
 reduplicating syllable See §145

§613 Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or
 with other *a-*

yajñah pratyagṣhāt (v 1 *praty u ṣhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣhāt sumatau*
matnām MŚ

tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV In VV I p 26 we have
 suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated
 from the vowel only by the aspirate

irām u ha (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ AG

§614. The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other
na, sometimes involving false division of words

tam te vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt (MS KS *nu madhye*) VS MS KS
 ŚB *irām te tad vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt* TS

yajñāyate vā paśuso na (MS *nu*) *vājān* RV MS KB

upānasah saparyan RV † *upo nu sa saparyan* SV

avasyuvātā bṛhatī (TS *°ār*) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS *°rīh*) TS
 MS KS AŚ

mahān indrah paraś ca nu (SV *puraś ca nah*) RV AV SV Metathesis
 of *a u*

§615 Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange,
 this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in
 §605, q v Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur

pari pūṣā parastāt (AV *pu^a*) RV AV

yasmāḥ jātā na parā naiva kim canāśa TA *yasmāḥ jātam na purā kim canaiva* VS *yasmāḥ jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ *yasmāt param nāparam asti kimcit* TA MahānU N *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātah* PB *yasmān na jātah paro anyo asti* (NṛpU 'sti) VS, TB ApŚ MahānU NṛpU

[*ye devāḥ purahsado* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ BDh *ye devā agninetrah purahsadas* VS ŚB Conc quotes *parahsado* for TS]

§616 Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words, sometimes with false division of words

pra na (SV *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV *tu nah*) RV SV

sarve rādhyāḥ stha (ŚŚ °*yās tu*) *putrah* AB ŚŚ

devānśo yasmai tvede tat satyam upariprutā (ApŚ *apariprutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ *bhaṅgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ

ugro (MG *agne*, HG *ūrdhvo*) *virājann* (MG *virājam*) *apa* (MG *upa-*) *sedha* (AV *vṛṇkṣva*) *satrūn* (MG *śukram*) AV ApMB HG MG *upaśṛṇvate* (ŚŚ *apa*°, corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ ŚŚ

apa snehīr etc RV AV SV KS *upa stuhī* etc TA See §110

tān brahmā tu (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV *śumbhati*, ApMB *śaṁsati*) RV AV ApMB

§617 The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another

mitro yatra (AV *no atra*) *varuno aṣyamānah* (AV *yuyya*°) RV AV

devebhīr aktam (VS TS *yuktam*) *aditih sajoṣāḥ* VS TS MS KSA

vācā cit prayatam (AŚ *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ

pramade (TB °*mude*) *kumārīputram* VS TB

anu stomam mudimahi (PB *mademahi*) RV AV PB

asmin goṣṭhe kariṣmīḥ (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣmīḥ*) AV MS Kauś

See §152, note p before u

sā sannaddhā sanuḥi vājam emam (MŚ *sunuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV MG

(Others, §52) *ā-san su*, near-synonyms

añjanti suprayasam (Ppp *yuyñjanti suprajāsam*) *pañca janāḥ* RV AV Ppp

MS See §192

vāyosāvitra (MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*)

TS MS KSA

pratnāso agna ṛtam āsuṣānāḥ (AV *āsasānāḥ*) RV AV VS TS

asīmahi (MS *uś*°) *tvā* MS TA

ā raśmīn (RV °*mim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB °*vah*)

RV VS ŚB TB

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB *ni jalgulīti* (KSA ms †*jalgalūti*, ed em

°*lūti*) *dhānukā* TS KSA Onomatopoeitic forms?

ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (AV *ye apa°*, some mss *ya upa°*, comm *u parāsaḥ*) *īyuh* RV AV VS TS MS

[*yaje samrādhānim aham* ŚB BṛhU AŚ SMB ApMB *yuje* (but read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt, p 250) †*samardham tm aham* ŚŚ *agnau samrādhānim yaje* HG]

§618 And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote *pratīpam prātisutvanam* (AB °*satvanam*) AV AB ŚŚ Boehtlingk regards the reading °*sutv°* as a corruption of the other. But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sutvan* as *satvan*.

svasti nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākṛteṣu*, v 1 as RV) *yonīṣu* RV AB MG

vasiṣṭhaḥanuh śiṅgīni kokyābhyām VS *oṣiṣṭhaḥanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA °*kośā°*) TS TA

yamasya loke adhiraṅgur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nūhīr ajarāya*) AV MS TA See §401

adha syāma (MS *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV MS KS ApŚ See §840

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB *rtulam*) VS TB See §651

kumbhānas (*stambh°*) , see §287

vi no rāṣṭram unattu TB *saṁ te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV See §139
bhakṣimahi (TS MS KS Vait *dhukṣ°*) *prajāṁ iṣam* RV SV TS MS

KS PB Vait

rajanī , *rajjunī* , see §107

īde agnīm svāvasam (AV *svāvasam*) *namobhih* RV AV MS TB AŚ
See §466

īmau stām anupakṣitau (ApMB *anapekṣ°*) AV ApMB

āśum jayantam anu (KS *yā sanjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

abhi sprdha usro vedim tatarda ŚŚ *vy usridho asro adrir bibheda* TB

The TB looks generally secondary. Comm *asro nirasanakusalo priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūnī* (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūnī*) TB Vait [hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram acīṣum (TB Conc °*ṣam*, Poona ed °*ṣum*, which certainly read) MS KS TB]

[*haviṛ haviṣṣu* (SV *haviṣṣu*) *vandyah* (SV Conc wrongly °*yuh*) RV SV] *asmākam anśum maghavan puruṣpṛham* SV Conc 'read *anśam*' for *anśum*, but cf Benfey's Glossary, perhaps *anśum* is correct]

[*upa drava payasā godhug oṣam* (ŚŚ † *oṣum*, AŚ † *payasā goṣam*) AV AB AŚ ŚŚ Both AŚ and ŚŚ probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV]

5 Other interchange of *a* and *u* vowels

§619 The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*

divyo gandharvāḥ ketapūh (VSK °*pāh*) *ketam nah* (MS KS omit *nah*)
punātu VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB SMB 'Purifying (protecting)
 the will', the verb *punātu* is cognate with *-pūh* of the original
 reading

ptā devānām janatā vibhūvasuh (ApŚ MŚ *vibhā*°) RV SV ApŚ MŚ
drapsaś caskanda pṛthuvīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyān*) RV
 AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

aghadviṣṭā devajātā AV Kauś *atharvyaṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ

yad annam admi (PrānāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrānāgU *virād-*
dham, vv II *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV TA PrānāgU

§620 Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in

sakhā suśevo advayāh (Mahānāmnyah °*yuh*) RV KS AA Mahānām-
 nyah Nom sing masc of a; *u* stems

yo nah (AV *mā*) *kadācid abhidāsati druhā* (AV *druhuḥ*) RV AV *druhā*,
 instr sing of stem *druh*, *druhuḥ*, nom sing of adj *druhu*

sā prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB HG
 Pronoun *sā* prefix *su*

pumānsam u (ŚG *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG †*dadhād*) *iha* AV ŚG Add to VV I
 §§167, 193

§621 Variants of *a* and *ū*

yad adya hotvārye (ŚŚ °*vārye*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ °*vūrya* is R̥gvedic, its
 long *ū* seems anomalous. For the *u*-vocalism cf *vurita* etc (VV I
 §10)

nakih (RV *nū cit*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV SV *nū = nu*

druhah pāśūn (TS KS *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV TS MS
 KS See §612

utsam juṣasva madhumentam ūrva (KS MŚ *ūrmim*, VS *arvan*, VSK
 °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS VSK TS KS ApŚ MŚ See §228

6 Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

§622 These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical. Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittiriya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables. These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

v for *y* (§§247-8) The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change, so in

pareyuvāsam (TA ApŚ *pareyu*°) *pravato mahīr anu* (AV *itu*) RV AV MS TA AŚ N (Pratikas, ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś Rvidh) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *z* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance, possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*

hlādike hlādikāvati (TA *hlādike hlādu*°) RV AV TA Here, too, another motive is discernible The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling' This meaning in the Brāhmaṇa language is expressed by the suffix *uka*, cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 104 ff But again the form appears only in a Tait text

goṣu aṣveṣu śubhrīṣu (TB °*uṣu*) RV AV KS TB The stem *śubhru* occurs only here, the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation)

made-made hi no dadṛh (TB *daduḥ*) RV AV MS KS TB AŚ *daduḥ* can only be a noun form equal to *dadṛh*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable) The *samhitā* mss of MS have a different phonetic corruption, *dadṛk*, ed follows p p

§623 In other texts *z* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous *acety agnīś cikītuḥ* (SV KS °*tih*) RV SV KS Perhaps assimilation in SV KS

dawyā (AV *dawā*) *hotāro* (TS °*rā*, AV °*rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanuṣ*°, KS † *vanuṣan na*, AV *sanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etat*) RV AV TS KS The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vanu-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end It is historically quite as justified as *vanuṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS, contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation

§624 In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned

rkṣo jatūh suṣulīkā (MS *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS MS (p p of MS *suṣulīketi suṣu-līkā*) See §279

dṛṣe ca (MS *dṛśā ca*, RV *abhukhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanīh* (RV *śuśu*°, KS °*vabhih*, MS *suśikmanā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §240

§625 In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *z* and imperatives in *u* They need not be listed here, see VV I, e g §116 Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt, unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *him* and (commoner) *hum*

paśūndm tvā himkārenābhijyghrāmy (GG °mi, HG *hum*°) *asau* .

SMB GG ApMB HG

§626 In several variants forms of root *śru* exchange with *śru* or *śru*
agne tvam sūktavāg asy upasruti (ŚB AŚ ŚŚ °tī, TB *upaśruto*) *divas*
 (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ *upaśruto divah prthivyoh*
 TS

śavasā hy asī śrutah (AV *śritah*) RV AV But SPP *śrutah* for AV,
 with many mss (other mss *śrtah*), and so Whitney's Transl

ā tvā parīśrutah (MG °śrtah, mss °tam, AG °śritah) *kumbhah* (ApMB †
 °āh) AG PG ApMB MG And others, see §275

§627 The rest are sporadic

prajḍvatīh sūyavasam (AV °se) *ruśantīh* (RV TB comm *riś*°) RV AV
 TB See Whitney's note on AV *ruś*° 'shining', tho no doubt
 secondary to *riś*° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is
 clearly the reading of AV tradition

pryo me hṛdo (MŚ *hito*, v l *huto*) 'sī (MŚ †*bhava*) TS MŚ This, as
 between *i* and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the
 mss of MŚ

svarūdo abhi gā adrim uṣnan (SV *iṣnan*) RV SV See §401

pāti pryam ripo (and, *rupo*) *agram padam veh* RV (both) *pāty agnir*
vipo agram padam veh ApŚ Read *rupo* in both RV passages, cf
 Ludwig ad loc, Bloomfield, JAOS 27 75, and RVRep 184

apām tvā sadhiṣi (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB See
 §353 The MS is mangled, is its ending felt as loc plur ? (*sadhiṣi*
 loc sing)

upa yayñam asthuta (MŚ *astu no*, AV comm *astṛta*) *varśvadevi* RV Kh
 AV ApŚ MŚ

ā śuṣe (SV *āśiṣe*) *rādhase mahe* RV SV The RV has a verb form from
ā-śvas 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty' In SV we have
 an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form The
 ending *e* suggests a dative matching the following *rādhase*, hence
āśiṣe 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb
 Benfey supplies 'we summon'

ṛtasjartena mām ita (TA *ita*) TB TA *ṛtasya tv enam āmutah* (p p
tu, enam, mā'm, uttam ma') MS (corrupt in both forms) TA
 comm takes *ita* as a verb form (= *prāpnuta*)

mandāna ud vṛṣāyale (SV *id vṛṣāyase*) RV SV

ṣaḍ id yamā (TA udyamā) ṛṣayo devaḥ it RV AV TA N
 ud it te vasuvittamāh ApŚ ud u tye (MS MŚ ud-ut te) madhumattamāh
 RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ
 sarvān it lān anu vidur vasīṣṭhāh RV sarvam uktaṁ anuvīdur vasīṣṭhāh
 JB

viśvair devai rātībhiḥ samitarānah (MG devair ṛtubhiḥ samvīdānah)
 ApMB MG

sugandhīm (subandhum) , see §152
 lokam (RV ulokam) u (ApŚ id) dve upa jāmi (RV jāmi) iyatuh
 RV MS ApŚ

[vātāpe pīva id bhava RV KS †—Conc ud for KS id]
 nāḍya satrum nanu (ŚB † na nu) purā vvitse (ŚB yuyutse) RV SV
 See §255, and other interchanges of n yu in §305
 ahvāndāya svāhā KSA iluvardāya svāhā TB ApŚ See §579
 achidra ūśyah padānu takṣuh TS achidrośyah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuh
 (so text, em by Caland, ms † padānutakṣiṣvat) KS
 vratānu (MS TB ApŚ vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā adabdhah (TB ŚŚ ApŚ
 ŚG adābhyah) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG

7 Interchanges of long ī and ū (u)

§628 Here are found only a few stray variants

ūrjam samsūdena (KSA °sūdena) TS KSA Parts of a horse's body,
 wholly obscure TS comm samsūdam samtataḥṣarano nāsikādih
 viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyāmānah VS apūtapā ādhūyāmānah TS The
 passages are rather low bathos

ahir na jūrnām (TB ahir ha jūrnām) ahi sarpati tvacam RV SV TB
 Both participles of the dissyllabic root jṛ The ī form is regular in
 Sanskrit, but the Vedic ū form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton,
Ind Stud C R Lanman 27)

rkṣo jatūh suśilīkā (susulūkā) , see §624
 sam im (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV
 dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāh VS pūtrbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhr-
 vanūkāśān ApŚ See §742

CHAPTER XIV VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629 With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *r* (*l*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *r* in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic *r* and consonantal *r* with another vowel, especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *r* as *ri* or *ru*. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *r* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical, that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20.

1 *r* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

§631 We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the R̥gveda itself.

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhṛn°*) RV SV. The SV has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally *hṛn*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *han*.

īṣām khr̥galyam śavam (ApŚ *lhagalyam śapham*) MS ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khr̥gala*, RV, if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

paṣṭhavād (MS *pr̥ṣṭhavād*, p p *paṣṭavād*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts, and even in the fourth a v l has it

tejo yāsavī sthāvram samuddham (ŚG *saṃuddham*, v l *samī*°) ŚG PG ApMB HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34, *samuddham* is pretty clearly for *saṃuddham*

dadhīṣo ehi ApŚ *dadhṛṣy ehi* MS The forms are voc sing fem, and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root *dhṛṣ*, so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kühne'

To these may be appended another, in which however *i* for *r* seems to be a textual corruption

ayam śatrūn jayatu jarhṣānah (AŚ † *jarhiṣ*°) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ But elsewhere AŚ has the vikāra *aham śa*° *jayāmi jarhṣānah*, indicating that *jarhiṣ*° is corrupt

§636 An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next, *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhṛd*), cf Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34

puramdaro gotrabhṛd (MS °*bhṛd*, all mss, TB *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS MS KS TB

§637 In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between *i* and *r*, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct

jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāl AV *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA The roots *r* and *i* are synonyms But Poona ed of TA *jāmi mitvā ādityānām prasūti* (MS °*ṣti*) *hetir ugrā* MS TB TA 'Extension' 'progress' Cf next two

prayatiḥ ca me prasitiḥ (MS KS °*ṣtiḥ*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Cf prec and next

dirghām anu prasitum (KS *saṃṣti*) *āyujse dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS ŚB TB *dirghām anu prasitum saṃsprṣethām* MS Cf prec two *tām dhīrāso anudṛṣya* (VSK °*diṣya*) *yajante* (KS †*anudṛṣyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK TS KS TB *tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo* 'nudiṣyāyajanta MS *tām u dhīrāso anudṛṣya yajante* VS ŚB *anu-diṣ* 'assign' *anu-dṛṣ* 'survey'

tum ghed (MS *hed*) *agnir vṛdhāvati* (MS *vidh*°) RV TS MS In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avati* MS is obscure and probably corrupt, p p *vadhā* (sic!), *avati*

§638 To this same group belongs the single case involving long *i*; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ mss read °*mṛte* with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root *mṛ* 'change, alter'

tasmin sīdāmṛte pratīṣṭha (MŚ text *sīdāmṛte pratīṣṭhan*) TB ApŚ
MŚ Add to VV I §250

§639 Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hṛta* (or *dhṛta*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhṛ* (*hṛ*)

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bīhartu (Ppp *pīpartu*) AV *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhṛtam dadhātu* TB

gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat VS *ga° nāma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU And others, §855

devair devīḥ samāhṛtāḥ RVKh (but Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*) *devīr devaḥ samāhṛtaḥ* (TB °*bhṛtāḥ*) SV TB

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (AŚ *prahitam*, MŚ *nihitam*) *padam hi te* TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

hiranye 'smiṇ samahṛtaḥ (RVKh Scheftelowitz °*hṛtaḥ*, HG °*bhṛtāḥ*) RVKh ApMB HG

garbha wa (SV KU [Poley's ed] *wet*) *subhṛto garbhiniḥbhīḥ* (RV *sudhito garbhiniṣu*) RV SV KU

sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam TS TB *sūryān* (p p °*yāt*) *sukram samābhṛtam* MS *sūrye santam* (KS TA *śukram*) *samāhṛtam* (KS TA *samābhṛtam*) VS KS ŚB TA

§640 Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants

pryo ma hṛdo (MŚ *hito*, v l *kuto*) 'si (MŚ °*bhava*) TS MŚ

imā (MS *īdam*) *brahma pīpihi* (MS *pīpṛhi*, v l *pīpihi*) *saubhagāya* VS MS KS ŚB

vṛṣayūtīr na 'vṛtaḥ (SV 'vītā) RV SV *a-vṛ-taḥ av-i-lā* (nom ag, root *av*) *hotrāvidah* (RV °*vida*, TB °*vṛdha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaḥ* RV AV MS TB *mā no vidad* (KS *vṛdhad*) *vṛjṇā* (KS TB ApŚ °*anā*) *dveṣyā* † *yā* AV KS TB ApŚ

indrartubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhānah TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhubhir brahmanā samvidānah* ŚŚ

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *spṛsantām*, TA *mṛśantām*) RV AV TA

atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ (RV N *vṛṣṇaḥ*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Viṣṇu is meant even in RV, later texts substitute the name for the epithet

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvirīr (SV *prāntarikṣāt sthāvirīs te*) *aṣṛkṣata* RV SV
vācaspatē hr̥dvīdhe nāman (MS MŚ *hinvidhe*) MS TA ŚŚ MŚ All
 mss and p p of MS agree on the strange form Even *hr̥dvīdhe*
 is none too clear (TA comm *hr̥dayasya vidhātah cittaṭṭaprakṛety*
arthah)

vr̥trasyāṣi (*mūtra*°) see §235

made-made hi no dadāh (TB *daduh*, MS samh mss *dadṛk*) RV AV
 MS KS TB AŚ See §622

adṛnhathāḥ śarkarābhīs trivṛṣṭapī (MŚ *tribhṛṣṭibhīh*) KS ApŚ MŚ
 See §222

iśāno vi ṣyā (= *ṣyā*, TS *ṣṛjā*) *dṛtīm* AV TS MS KS

upa yajñam asthata (AV comm *astṛta*, MŚ *astu* no) *vaiśvadevī* RV Kh
 AV ApŚ MŚ

dame-dame suṣṭutya (TS °*tīr*, MS ° *tī*, AŚ ŚŚ °*tīr*) *vāṛdhānā* (AV
 °*nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iṣṭnā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ See §236
 [*eṣa iṣṭya* (AV Berlin ed *ṛṣaye*, emendation) *māmahe* AV ŚŚ Keep
iṣṭya with AV mss]

3 ṛ (ṛ) and u(ū)

§641 The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be pre-
 prevailing Prakritic in character We should expect *u* for *ṛ* especially
 in the vicinity of labial consonants, but except in the first variant
 (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case, the only other instances
 with labials (e.g. *bhr̥* and *bhū*) are lexical The most clearly Prakritic
 cases are

tvāṣṭrmantas (MS MŚ *tvāṣṭri*°, ApŚ *tvāṣṭ(u)*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS
 ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf *tvāṣṭrīmātī* (TS ApŚ and TA Poona ed
tvāṣṭrī°) *te sapema* TS TA ApŚ The Taittiriya form is feminized
ut (Vait *adhāma*) *sakthyā* (ŚŚ Vait °*yor*) *ava gudaṁ* (TS KSA ApŚ
sakthyor gṛdaṁ) *dhehī* VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ Vait ApŚ Altho
gṛda seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be
 the original form of *guda*

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhī* MS ApŚ MŚ See
 §631

ṛlaprajātā (MŚ *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vah ṣyāma* TS MŚ This may be
 called a lexical variant, since MŚ makes sense, but it is doubtless
 fundamentally Prakritic

§642 Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably
 both are mere textual errors or corruptions

sa nirudhyā nahuṣo (TB Conc *nahr̥ṣo*) *yahvo agnīh* RV TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading
devam manah kuto (AV *kṛto*) *adhī prajātam* RV AV Altho all mss of AV apparently agree on *kṛto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kuto*, with Whitney
made-made hi no dadih (*daduh, dadṛk*), see §§622, 640

§643 More purely lexical variants are
prīyo me hṛdo (MŚ *hito* or *kuto*) 'sī (MŚ *†bhava*) TS MŚ See §640
agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛvann* (RV *apunann*) *uśījo amṛtyave* (RV 'vah, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS ApŚ
vanīṣṭhor hrdayād (AV * *udorād*) *adhī* RV AV (both) ApMB
upa yajñam asṭhita (*asṭṛta, astu no*) , see §640
avimuktacakra ('rā) *āsīran* PG *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB

Note labial consonants preceding *r* *u*

āyurdā deva (AV *agne*) *jarasam vṛnānah* (ApMB ApG HG *grn*) AV MS KS MŚ ApMB HG ApG *āyurdā* (VS ŚB *āyusmān*) *agne haviṣo juṣānah* (VS ŚB ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

§644 The only cases of long *ū* and *r* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhṛ*, which are practically synonyms here
adbhyah sambhṛtah (TA MahānU ApŚ *sambhūtah*) *prthivyaḥ* (MS KS *†vyā*) *rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS MS KS TA MahānU KŚ ApŚ PG

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyaḥ (PB ŚŚ KŚ also *trīṣṭubhe* and *jagatyaḥ*, TS ApŚ *gāyatriyās trīṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhah pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS ApŚ omit) *'bhūbhūtaye* (TS ApŚ *abhūbhūtyai*, ŚŚ *'bhūbhṛtyai*, KŚ *'bhūbhūtyai*) *svāhā* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ *arīṣṭyā avyathyaḥ samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyā* (also *trīṣṭubho, jagatyā, anuṣṭubho, pañktyā*) *abhūbhūtyai svāhā* ApŚ

Once *r̥* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms

tāsām svasṛ ajanayāt (MS *svaṛ ajanan*, KS ms *† svasṛ* [ed cm *svasṛr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS KS

4 *l* and *u*

§645 There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form A perfect middle participle of root *kṛp* appears twice in ApŚ with *u* for *l* There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots

samvatsara ṛtubhiḥ samvīdānah (KS °bhiś cākṛpānah, ApŚ °bhiś cākupānah) MS KS ApŚ

satyam pūrvaṛ (KS °vebhṛ) ṛṇibhiḥ samvīdānah (KS † °bhiś cākṛpānah, ApŚ cākupānah) MS KS ApŚ

5 *ṛ* and *o*

§646 In a single lexical variant, showing forms from the roots *grh* and *guh*

grhyopagṛhyo mayobhūr ŚG *gohya ṛupagohyo* SMB PG.

6 *ṛ* and *ar*

§647 The variants under this head are not very numerous, and are almost exclusively concerned with ablaut. That is, the variant forms are nearly all nil-grade and full-grade formations from the same root, in verb inflexion or noun formation. Usually both forms can be justified by regular grammar, altho a number of them are grammatically more or less irregular.

§648 The following concern various finite verb forms

pari agnim ahr̥ṣata (VSK †ar̥ṣata or ahar̥ṣata) RV VS VSK *parime 'gnim ar̥ṣata* AV (Ppp ms ahar̥ṣata, Barret JAOS 43 99 em ahr̥ṣata). Significative aorists from *hr̥*, weak-grade or guna, the latter is ungrammatical, and if it is to be accepted (cf VSK and AV Ppp) it is to be regarded as a blend of *ahr̥ṣata* and *ar̥ṣata*.

bahu hāyam (MS *ha vā ayam*) *avṛṣad* (TS *avṛṣād*, MS *avar̥ṣid*) *iti śrūta rāval* (MS °vaṭ, TS *śrutar āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS MS KS. See VV I p 129.

praty u adar̥ṣy (TB *uv ṛadar̥ṣy*) *āyati* RV SV TB AŚ ŚŚ. This can only be a 3d sing aor pass, with *ṛ* in TB anomalously for *ar* (comm *dar̥ṣyate*). To be added to VV I §281.

bhartam (VS ŚB *bhṛtam*) *agnim puriṣyam* VS TS MS KS ŚB. See VV I p 188.

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS *abhi no nīvartasva*, MS *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva* RV. See VV I p 126. *punar ūrjā nī vartasva* (Kauś *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ MŚ Kauś.

ime jīvā vi mṛtaṛ āvavṛtan (TA *āvavarttin*, Poona ed °rtin) RV AV TA. See VV I p 42.

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA *dadhar̥ṣa*, ŚŚ *dadhar̥ṣayā*) AV AA ŚŚ. See VV I p 89.

§649 In various participles and gerundives

atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*, KS *vavṛṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*) *svāhā* TS MS KS See VV I p 147

jāgaritāya (KSA *jāgritāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA Both equivalent participles *adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhyaḥ* (TB *rdhyah*) RV TB Gerundives, cf Whitney §963b, 4

dāma grīvāṣv avimokyam yat (TS *avicartyam*) AV TS *pāśam grīvāṣv avicartyam* (VS ŚB *°cṛtyam*) VS MS KS ŚB Cf prec AVPpp according to Whitney has *°cṛtyam*

§650 In other noun and adjective formations

śam methur (ApMB *śam te methi*) *bhavatu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB *trdma*) AV ApMB No stem *trdman* is otherwise known

alandrāso ywatalayo tvibhṛtram (TB *vibhartram*) RV TB Poona ed of TB text and comm *bibhartram* Agni is referred to, TB comm *poṣakam*

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajasyam pautramarīyam* SMB Comm on SMB repeats the form, glossing *putrasam-bandhīmaranam*

pra sa (tead *su*?) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG *pra sumarīyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* ApMB SMB *prathamam arīm yuyotu nah* MG

agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛṇvan* (RV *apunann*) *uśyo amṛtyave* (RV *°vah*, ApŚ *amarītyave*) RV MS ApŚ In ApŚ a blended stem *-marītyu* (fused from *marīta*, *marīya*, and *mṛtyu*), cf prec

jivātave na mṛtyave (PB *marīave*) RV PB Infinitive in PB

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS *sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi* SV JB

vanasade (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS MS *vaṭ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV in compounds It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here The next preceding phrase in KS is *nṛṣade veṭ*, the *r* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°

devāḥ pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt (AV *nirṛthāt*) RV AV TS Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition', *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic

[*niṣkarta* (RV KŚ *iṣ*°, ApMB Conc wrongly *niṣkṛtā*) *vihrutam* (PB TA ApMB *vihṛtam*) *punah* RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB]

§651 Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words

pratiśṛukāyā artanam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB *artanam*, comm *duhkhinam*, BR 'reviler', *ṛtulam*, comm *deśarājāwārtākathanāśīlam*

sarnikāya tvā TS *ṣṛṇikāya tvā* MS Both words wholly obscure, said to mean 'water'
dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ ° *yai*) *ṛnayā na iyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KB AB
 ApŚ *dviṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV

7 *r* and *ār*

§652 Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *r*. Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*

apragāṣṭvam mārtaṭatsam AV *apragāṣṭām paṭramṛtyum* ApMB HG
 Others, §650

ārtavā (MS KS *ṛtavo*) *adhīpataya* (MS KS 'dhī°) *āsan* VS MS KS
 ŚB *ārtavo* 'dhīpotir āsīt TS

ṛtavo 'srjyanta VS TS ŚB *ārtavā asrjyanta* MS KS

agnir gṛhapatīnām (MS KS *gārhapatyānām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

ārtiyai (TB *ṛtyai*) *janavādīnam* VS TB Stem *ṛti*, from *r* *ārti*, from *ā + r*

8 *r* and *ir*, *ur*, *ūr*

§653 Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt. Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least. As to *r ir*, we find just two cases in which the *samhitā* mss of MS (the same text each time!) read *r* for proper *ir*. In both cases the p p points to the reading *ir*. Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *r* in one case and emends to *ir* in the other, there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other.

nama ānirhatebhyah (MS *ānr*°, p p *ānr*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB

anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS mss *nakṛnu*, ed em *nakir nu*, p p *nakis, tu*) RV VS MS KS

§654 Under *r ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious. *agnir dvārā vy ṛvati* RV TB Conc quotes *urvatī* for TB, but Poona ed text and comm *ṛn*° without *v* l

satyaujasā dṛnhanā (MS *durhṛnā*, KS *ḍṛnhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS KS And others see §305

nābhimṛṣe (MS KS *nābhīdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jārḥṣāṇah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Might also be classed in §643

§655 Of *r* *ūr* we find only the following, in which the root *r* varies with the so-called 'root' *ūrnu*, really a form of *vr*
twēsas te dhūma r̥nwatī (AV *ūrnotu*) RV AV SV LŚ KŚ MŚ

9 *r* and *ra*, *rā*

§656 In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Samprasāraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp 69-71, and cf the similar variations of *i* and *u* with *ya* and *va* in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of *r* varying with *ra* which stands for *ar* before *s* plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation) and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

§657 The cases of so-called Samprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah*, *grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of *grabh*, *grbh*, on which see especially VV I §281.

agrbbhūt VSK *agrabbhūt* VS AŚ ŚŚ

agrbbhīṣata VS *agrabbhīṣata* KS

udgrābhenod *agrabbhūt* (MS *ajigrabhat*, KS *ajigrabham*, and *ajigrbham*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnaye tvā mahyam *pratigrahūtre* (ŚŚ °*grhnate*) VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ

prāno dātra edhi *pratigrahūtre* (ŚŚ °*grhnate*) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ. The same with *haya dātra*.

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms
viṣe viṣam aprkthāh (*aprāg api*) AV (both)

§658 In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel I c, some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical.

hradam (MS *hṛdam*) *na hi tvā nyṛṣanty ūrmayah* RV, MS 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmāṇi*)'. The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hṛda* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *samprasāraṇa*. Cf next

namo nīveṣyāya (p p nī^o) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS *namo hradayyāya* (VS *hṛdayyāya*, KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS *ṣyāya*) *ca* VS TS KS See §248 The MS and VS forms simulate derivatives of *hṛd* and *hṛdaya*, but these can hardly be in place here, the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hṛda* = *hrada* found in MS in the preceding variant

prkṣasya (ArS *prakṣ*^o) *vr̥ṣno aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS *mahaḥ*) RV ArS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh *prkṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse, its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere

nimrado (ApŚ *nimṛdo*) 'sī MS KS ApŚ MŚ Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p 71

avātīralam bṛṣayaṣya (TB *prathayaṣya*) *keṣaḥ* RV TB See §69

bhṛjaś chandah MS *bhṛjaś chandah* VS TS ŚB *bhṛjaś chandah* KS † (but v 1 *bhra*^o) The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhrāj*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l c but may be related to *bhraj*, Wackernagel p 69, cf also *bhargas* etc There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots Cf next

kṣuro bhṛjaś (TS *bhṛjvāṇ*, MS *bhṛjaś*, VS *bhṛjaś*, stigmatized by Conc as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec

ārdrah prathasnur (MŚ †*prthasnur*, v 1 *pratha*^o) *bhṛvanasya gopāḥ* TB ApŚ MŚ See §609, and Wackernagel p 71

svasty apsu vr̥jane svarvati (MG †*vr̥jane svarvati*) RV AB MG Really a lexical variant, *vr̥jana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyāsu* of the preceding pāda But some MG mss read with RV

[*diḡbhyaś cakravākah* (KSA Conc *cakṛv*^o with the sole ms. ed em *cakrav*^o) TS KSA This is probably a mere corruption, if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same]

§659 The roots *rādḥ* and *rdḥ*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin, and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group Cf also §506

rdhyāsam adya makhasya śirah MS TA ApŚ *makhasya le 'dya śiro rādhyāsam devayajane pṛthivyāḥ* VS ŚB [The references to MS MŚ in Conc seem to be erroneous]

tan me rādhyatām VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ Kauś SMB *tan me samṛdhyatām* (Kauś *samṛddham*) TB SMB Kauś

harivato graham ṛdhyāsam KS *harivato hariyojanasya harivantam*
graham rādhyāsam MS

§660. The single case noted of *r* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p 212 f) is

samsrṣṭāsu yuteṣu indro gaṇeṣu MS *samsraṣṭā* (AV v 1 *samsrṣṭā*) *sa*
yudha indro gaṇena RV AV SV VS TS KS

§661 From the root *śr*, also quoted as *śrā* 'boil', are found the two participles *śṛta* and *śrāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *śṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise

suśrātām (AV *suśrtām*) *manye tad ṛtām navīyah* RV AV

§662 The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflexion forms in *r* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*

āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG *āpo jāgrta* MS KS MŚ *āpo haviḥṣu jāgrta*

ApŚ *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG See VV I p 123

ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati (KS *jāgrtha*) AV KS See VV I p 221

yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ *saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG See VV I p 96

te na ātmasu jāgrati (KS † *jāgrta*) AV KS

yat paśur māyām akrta TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG *yad vaśā*
māyām akrata Kauś See VV I p 257

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS *bibhṛato*) *jāta* vedāḥ AV KS Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p 159), and obscure as to interpretation

§663 Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *r* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*

hotrakānām (MŚ *hotṛka*°, v 1 *hotrak*°) *camasādūhvaryavah* ApŚ MŚ

The words *hotṛka* 'secondary *hotṛ*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest. See Caland on ApŚ 12 23 4

§664 Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated, notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kṛ*. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology

puṇjikasthalā (KS † *puṇjiga*°) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu*°) *cāpsarasau*
 VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, and so naturally flexible

samsrṣṭām ubhayam kṛtām (KŚ *abhayam kratum*) KS TB ApŚ KŚ
indra kratvā (MS *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV MS KS The

MS, which is certainly secondary and poor in *indrah*, reads the

gerund *kṛtvā* for *kratvā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness

mainā arvā renukakāṣah prnak (MS † [v I *prnak*] KS *pranak*) MS KS

TB *pra-ṇak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*, *prnak* from *pre*
indrāya tvā śrmo 'dadāt (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB See §277

§666 The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague

drapsak caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV

AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vague assonance only

tam tvam vśvebhya devebhyaḥ kratūn (KS °*bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpayā* KS ApŚ
sā (read *sa?*) *nah prajāṃ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānah* (p p *ahāh, anī,*
yāmānah!) MS *sa no rucam dhehy ahṛnīyamānah* TA The MS
 is hopelessly corrupt, probably read *ahṛnīyamānah*

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (KS *bhadrā vṛṣanā agrbhānām*) RV VS
 TS KS

idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ MŚ *idavāsmān* (RVKh *īlavā*
vām) *anu vastām vṛatena* RVKh AV Scheffelowitz reads *ghṛtena*
 in RVKh

idam aham sarpānām grathnām (MŚ *mss kṛtsnām*) TS ApŚ
 MŚ See §47, MŚ perhaps corruption for *grath*°

nadayor vīratayoh śūra indrah RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV See
 §828

vśvair devai rātibhiḥ samratānah (MG *devair ṛtubhiḥ samvīdānah*)
 ApMB MG

āvīte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtvārdhau MS KS *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate*
 TS TB In this and the next, TS has interchanged the two old
 adjectives *ṛtvārdh* and *dhṛtavrata* (both RV)

āvītau (TS *āvinnau*) *mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS °*nāv ṛtvārdhau*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf *prec*

10 *r* and *ri*, *rī*

§666 Since *r* and *ri* have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of *r* to *ri* (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects) On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp 31 ff It is a well-known fact that Hindu *mss*, including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV 5 14 3, apropos of the pāda *riśasyeva pariśāsam*. So the Berlin ed prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss read *riśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text, we agree with him. Against most mss, but with some of them and with the comm, Whitney would also read *riśyapadīm* *vrṣadatīm* in AV 1 18 4a, where both editions have *riśya*°

§667. These AV cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS, which presents *triṣu* for *triṣu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *tri*) and *tvastri* for the god-name *tvastri*. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss, despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrāyanīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word.

triṣu (MS *triṣu*) *yad annā veviṣad vitiṣṭhase* RV SV MS ApŚ

triṣucyavaso (MS *triṣu*°) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV MS

tvastri (MS MS *tvastri*°, ApŚ *tvastu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS

ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Others, see §641

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *krmi*, altho its original form seems to have been *kṛm* (Wackernagel I p 33, Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch*, s v). Several variants show both forms of this common word.

hataḥ te atrinā kṛmih (GG *kṛ*°) SMB GG *atrinā tvā kṛme hanmī* TA

ApŚ *atrivad vah kṛmayo hanmī* AV

hatāh kṛmayah (but Jorgensen text and comm *kṛ*°) *sāsātīkāh sanīla-*
makṣikāh SMB *āsātīkāh kṛmaya* (but Poona ed *kṛi*°, v 1 *kṛ*°)

iva TA. Note that different editions differ on both texts!

nīlamgoh (MS *gave*) *kṛmih* (TS *kṛi*°) VS TS MS KSA

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *r*, not *ri*. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism, or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *r* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *r* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially

§670 Take for instance the proper name *Trīta*, which is quite definitely established in that form² as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrīta*). Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV (6.113.1 and 3) it is spelled *Trīta*, according to all mss known to both editions. In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trīta*. In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss: *trīta enam* (read *enan*, TB *trīta elan*) *manuṣyeṣu manuṣje* (TB *mā*°)

AV TB

trīte (TB *trīte*) *devā amṛtataṭad enah* AV TB

§671. There is little doubt that the MS form *āpaprvān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpaprivān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pr*, as Whitney questioningly suggests. The MS *p p* has °*pri*°

āpaprvān (MS *āpaprvān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§672 The verb *sredhati* makes it clear that *svidh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant. In fact many AV mss read *svidhah*, which Whitney regards as the true AV reading: *atī nīho atī svidhah* (AV MS *svidhah*) AV VS TS MS KS

§673 In the next *kriv* is the only form known to RV, and so may perhaps be assumed as the original, both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown

ā va indram krivm (SV *Svidh krivm*) *yathā* RV SV ŚŚ *Svidh adha tvīṣmān abhy ojasū krivm* (SV *krivm*, v 1 *krivm*) *yudhābhavat* RV SV

§674 According to Wackernagel I §180b, *r* was regularly replaced by *ri* before *y*, by phonetic law, when *r* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy. In the second variant the original (AV) reading was pronounced *pitriyāc*, and for this TA *pitriyāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *r* for proper *ri*: *vayam rāṣṭre jāgrīyāma* (MS † KS † °*mā*, TS and *p p* of MS *jāgrīyāma*) *purohitāh* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

dyaur nah pitā pitriyāc (TA *pitriyāc*) *cham bhavātī* (TA *bhavāsi*) AV TA

Cf the next where the RVKh reading is doubtful

āvruṣam jāgrītād aham AV *dyruṣam jāgrīyād aham* RVKh Aufrecht

but Scheftelowitz *ānuṣam jōgryām* (em, for ms *°yāmy*) *aham*
Cf VV I p 102

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning, presumably MS is secondary
nikirida (KS *°da*, VS *°dra*, MS *vyakṛān*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS .

§676 Finally a few corruptions and false readings
ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rte*, PB *†yakṣate*) *cīd abhiṣṛiṣah* RV AV
SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *jari cetid* (mss
cetid, p p *cya it* *it*) *abhiṣṛiṣah* MS (grossly corrupt, cf §193)
sam tvā rinanti (Vait *rinanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait Note the anomalous sandhi
in Vait, *sam-ṛ* and *sam-ri* would be virtual synonyms, but a 9th
class present from *ṛ* is anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup, but not
known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*) The Vait
reading is therefore doubly suspicious See §992

[*imau te pakṣāu* (*°ā*) *ajarāu patatrināu* (VSK TS KS *°nah*, Conc
wrongly quotes TS as *patatṛnah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB]

§677 Twice *ṛ* varies with *rī*, both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases

śṛītas tvam śṛto 'ham ApŚ *śṛītas tvam śṛito* 'ham KS Participles of
the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *śṛ*, *śṛā*, *śṛī* 'cook,
mature'

adbhṛ viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ ApMB *adbhṛ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG
In ApMB a distinctively feminine stem *bhartṛī* is used, to agree
with *adbhṛī*, ŚG uses the stem *bhartṛ* as of common gender

11 *ṛ* and *ru*

§678 The shift between *ṛ* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than that between *ṛ* and *ri*. There is equally good reason to regard it as having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhī the *ṛ* of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*, instead of *ri* as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very ancient is proved by RPr 14 12 (796), which states that some erroneously 'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarāu kurvanti oṣṭhyānubhau sarephau*). There are, to be sure, not so many variants that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case with *ṛ ri*. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *ṛ* in conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring.

§679 Among the clearest phonetic variants are

bhrum (TB *bhrum*) *dhāmānta apa gā avṛnata* RV TB Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original *bhrum* is not very clear, one of Sāyana's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhrum* by TB comm, who derives it from root *bhrām*.

drvās VS *drbās* KŚ *drubās* VSK An obscure word, note the following b. There is no way of determining the original form.

§680 A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *r* for original *ru* is the stem *prṣvā*, found several times in Tait texts for regular *pruṣvā*, note the preceding *p*. BR call *prṣvā* a 'falsche Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA comm explains by *jalabinduḥ*. It seems clear that it was the established Tait school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters, see e.g. Keith on TS 7.4.13.1.

pruṣvā aśrubhā VS MS *aśrubhā pruṣvām* (TS *prṣ*) TS KSA

pruṣvābhyah (TS *prṣ*), KSA ed *pruṣtābhyas*, ms *praṣtā*, read probably *pruṣvā*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA

śam u prṣthāva (read with Poona ed text and comm *prṣvāva*) *śiyatām* TA *śam te pruṣvāva śiyatām* AV

§681 Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *r* in the following cases, we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the *r* form seems quite well established in the Tait school, the MS is more seriously corrupt. *purā jatrubhya* (TA ApMB *jatrbhya*, MS *cakrbhyā*, p p *vaktrbhyah*) *ātṛdah* (MS *da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB

§682 The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots *sr* and *sru* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sṛti* and *sruṭi* both mean 'course, way'. *dve sruṭi* (VS KS ŚB BṛhU KŚ *sṛti*, and so TB Conc, but Poona ed *sruṭi*) *aśṇavam pitṛnām* RV VS MS KS ŚB TB BṛhU ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS 38.2 to *sruṭi*).

namah sruṭyāya (KS *sṛti*) *ca pathyāya ca* VS TS KS *namah pathyāya ca sruṭyāya ca* MS Derivatives of the words concerned in the preceding *tvā parisrutah* (AG *śrutah*, MG *śṛtah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB *śrāh*) AG PG ApMB MG *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG *emām parisrutah kumbhah* AV *pūrnām parisrutah kumbhān* ŚB No form *parisṛt* is otherwise recorded, despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG (all mss) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parisrutah*.

hiraṇyam aśṛtam (ŚB BṛhU GP *aśṛutam*) *bhava* ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG Here *śru* varies with *śṛ*, 'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold)

Cf *mṛgasya śṛtam* (HG *śṛtam*, ApMB vv II *śrutam*, *śrutam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB HG See §273

§683 Similarly *hṛ* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*, the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like A third variation between *hṛ* and *hru* is merely a textual corruption

avinaṣṭān avihrutān (AŚ °*hṛtān*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ ŚG

īṣkartā vihrutam punah RV KŚ *nīṣkartā* (Conc wrongly °*hṛtā* for ApMB) *vihrutam* (PB TA ApMB *vihrutam*) *punah* AV SV MS PB TA ApMB In TA there is a *v l vihrutam*, adopted in the text in Poona ed, but the comm even there reads *vihrutam*, and glosses *viśeṣena bhagnam*

aślonā (comm *asronāh*) *aṅgair ahrutāh svarge* AV *aślonāṅgair ahrutā svarge* TA But Poona ed text and comm *ahrutāh*, *v l °tā*, for TA, and this is the only possible reading The simple *hṛ* is not a synonym of *hru*, *ahrta* would make no sense, comm *karuṇīyarahitāh* (= *ahrutāh*)

§684 Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'ksā*) *paprathānebhīr evaṅh* RV MS KB TB The original has *ruvad dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared' This is misunderstood and corrupted in TB

śivā rutasya (VSK *śiva ṛtasya*, TS and *v l* of MS *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS Original is certainly *rutasya* 'healer of what is injured' *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an obvious lect fac, and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the ṛta' or 'the ṛta's healer', while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between *ṛ* and *ru*

satyaṅgasā dṛṇhanā (MS *durhṛnā*, KS *īdṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS KS *sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV Multiple confusion, see §305, etc

mayobhūh śamtamā yad dhrudo (comm *dhṛdo*) 'sṛ TB So Conc, but Poona ed text with comm *dhṛdo*

CHAPTER XV THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAMPRASĀRANA

§685 In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e ai* and *o au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

1 2 e

§686 The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems, with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives.
atra (ŚB *atrā*) *jahīmo* 'śivā ye *asan* VS ŚB *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahīta*)
ye asann aśevāh (AV **aśivāh*, **asan durevāh*) RV AV TA. The meter properly requires *aśevāh* if the word be final (VS ŚB trans-
pose).

yā sarasvatī viśobhaginā (MS ApŚ **veśa*°, KS *veśabhaginī*) MS KS
ApŚ *viśo-* 18 gen sing of *viś*
davyah kośah sannukṣṭah MS *davyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU *devakośah*)
samubṛtah AV TS KS ŚirasU
divo jyote (KS **jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) MS KS
vivasvān adīhr devajūts TS
devya (ApŚ *divyā*, v 1 *divyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* PB KŚ ApŚ

sūryo dwo (TS KS * *devo*) *dviṣadbhyah* (TS KS °*bhyo*) TS KS *
MŚ

puṇse putrāya vettavan (ŚB BṛhU *vittaye*) ŚB TB BṛhU ApMB
ApŚ HG

pra suvānāso (SV *svā*°) *brhaddveṣu* (SV °*deveṣu*) *harayah* RV SY
lekah salekah TS *saklah sahigah* MS KS See §49

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like **trayadhā* (cf. §§744 ff below, Wackernagel I p. 53, III p. 347)

tridhā (MS *tredhā*) *baddho vṛṣabho roravāṭi* RV VS MS KS GB TA
ApŚ MahānU N

§688 In the stem-syllable of verbal forms

maṣām uc cheṣi kim cana AV *maṣām kam canoc chiṣah* TS TB ApŚ
māmṣām kam canoc chiṣah RV SV VS

yah prānato nmaṣataḥ (v. 1 KS *nimeṣ*°) *ca rājā* MS KS *yah prānato nmaṣato* (VS *nimeṣ*°) *mahitvā* RV AV VS TS KSA Present participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *ni-miṣ*, the 1st class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded. Add to VV I §197 *vāmī te samdrśi viśvam reto dhiṣīya* (MS *dhe*°) MS KS *viśvasya te vāmī anu samdrśi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya* TS Cf next The form *dheṣīya* seems to be established in the Maitr school. It can hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guna *dhe*! perhaps by confusion with root *dhi*?). See VV I p. 196

somasyūham devayajyayā suretā (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ *dhe*°) TS ApŚ MŚ

§689 In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere. See VV I §§39-79 and 82 *et passim*

§690 Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat-abl plur forms in *ibhyas ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n) a*

divācarebhyo (MG °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* (sc *namah*) MG ViDh
ahaścarebhyah (sc *namah*) ŚG

naktamcarebhyah ŚG ViDh *naktamcāribhyo bhūtebhyah* MG

marudbhyo gṛhamedhabyo (MŚ °*dhebhyo*) 'nūbrūhi ŚB MŚ

marudbhyo gṛhamedhabyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *vaṣ*°, ApŚ *bāṣkān*) VS MS ApŚ

svāheṣṭibhyah (KauŚ °*tebhyah svāhā*) KS KauŚ *iṣṭebhyah svāhā vaṣad anuṣṭebhyah svāhā* TB ApŚ

§691 The others are miscellaneous case-forms, since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists

pūṣne śarase (MS † °*ṣi*) *svāhā* MS TA ApŚ *svāhā pūṣne śarase* VS ŚB KŚ The majority reading (dat) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms), but the loc of MS is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage

hiranyapakṣaḥ śakunīḥ HG *hiranyaparna śakune* PG Nom voc *pra vo mahe mahāvṛdhe* (SV PB *mahevṛdhe*) *bharadvam* RV SV AV PB AŚ ŚŚ The SV seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding)

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūriḥ*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāḥ*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Nom gen.

agnir hotā vetu agnir (AŚ *agner hotram vetu* (vettu) TB AŚ ŚŚ *agnir hotā vettu agner hotram vetu* ŚB Nom gen

kratvā varigṛham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV

§692 Oddities of noun stems

agner agneyāny (KS *agni°*) *asī* (MS v 1 and p p *agner agner yāny asī*) MS KS *devānām agneyāny asī* TS *agner yāny asī* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ See §357, and cf *vāyosāvitra*, §716

śrudhī śruta śraddhivam (AV *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV AV See §248, both forms have the force of gerundives

§693 The remaining variants are lexical, but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688

sa idhāno (KS *edh°*) *vasuṣ* (MS *vasuḥ*) *kavīḥ* RV SV VS TS MS KS

The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guna.

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ °*ṣv ā*, MS *janiṣva*) MS AB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The MS form could be interpreted as a 2d sing impv from *jan* but for the accent (*jāniṣva*), which seems to call for emendation

ino (AV *enā*) *viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ* RV AV N *ino*, nom of stem *ina*, *enā*, adverbial pronominal form

ulem (SV *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS *uta-īm* acc sing of *ūti*

krīdī ca śākī cojjeṣī (ApŚ *sākī* † *cojjeṣī* ca) VS VSK ApŚ See §407

āsannīṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām*
apsuvāho mayobhūn SV See §820

[*vācā mendriyāvīśa* TS KS MŚ Conc *vācam indr°* for KS, so ed reads at 4 14, but at 31 15 (p 18, n 1) it is corrected]

§694 Several times a word beginning in *i* varies with the same word preceded by *ā*

indram (SV *endram*) *agnim ca vodhave* RV SV

iha (MS AŚ ŚŚ *eha*) *gatir vāmasya* TS MS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ †1 14 19
tve iṣah (KS *viṣve*, MS *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrvarpasah* (TS † *bhūrri-relasah*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB See Von Schroeder's note If correct, MS must intend *tve, ā, iṣah*, but the p p reads *tve it tve, iṣah*

tāv (tā) ehi (*eha, eva*, AV *iha*) , see §§578, 888

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA See §180

ādityānām patvānv (PB °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA †*ehi*) VS TS MS KSA PB ŚB TB MŚ ApMB

2 i e

§695 Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different.

viśo yantri (KS *yantri*) *nudumāne arāṭim* KS TB ApŚ Duals from stems *yantrā* and *yantri*

śamgayī (MS ŚB °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīva*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Also feminine duals

vairājī (KSA †°*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA †) TS KSA Also fem duals, there seems no reason to emend KSA as von Schroeder would do
rātri (TB °*rī*, KS v l °*rih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV KS TB

mahī viśpatnī sadane (KS °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS TB ApŚ MŚ Here *sadane* is loc sing '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*' KS makes *sadanī* fem dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *arāṇis*), the other reading is simpler and most likely original

vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī (ArS °*se*) *śucih* RV ArS Nom sing fem dat sing masc (with *agnaye* in next pāda)

nābhā samdāya navyasī (SV °*dāya navyase*) RV SV As prec

rāyas poṣam cikituṣe (AV °*ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS ŚŚ As prec

urnamradā yuvatir (AV °dāh prthivī) *dakṣiṇdvate* (TA °ti) RV AV TA
As prec

tava praśastayo mahīh (SV °taye mahe) RV SV Nom pl dat sing
satyaśya dharmānāḥ pati (ApŚ pate) ŚŚ ApŚ Vocatives, dual and sing
graha viśvajānīna nyanantar viprāyāma te (KS *nyanantar vipra ā tsaṭi*)
MS KS See §838

sa supranīte (ŚŚ °ti) *nṛtamah svarād asī* AA ŚŚ Both forms are
uncertain The two text mss of ŚŚ have °te, comm apparently
°ti which Hillebrandt adopts, seemingly taking it as loc ('in good
guidance?') Sāyana on AA takes °te as loc, and Keith follows
him, rendering 'when (the rite) is duly paid', but in his note Keith
suggests deleting the accent and understanding a voc, 'O good
leader'

īdīṣvā hi mahe (ApŚ *mahī*, v 1 *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV ApŚ Acc dual (with
dṛāvāprthivī) dat sing (with *hotrāya*)

śruṣṭi (SV °te) *jātāsa indavah svarindah* RV SV Instr (?) of i-stem
loc of a-stem SV comm in one of two places reads *śruṣṭi*
vyam ośadhe (PG °dhī) *brāyamānā* PG HG ApMB The voc cannot
be construed, see Winternitz on ApMB, Introduction, xxv
mṛgā na bhīmās tanīṣibhir arcināh (TB °ṣebhir *ūrmibhih*) RV TB The
adverbial instr of RV (from the noun *tanīṣi*) is made an adj agreeing
with *ūrmibhih* in TB

dāvibhyas (KS *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS °yas) *svāhā* KS TB ApŚ
Kauś 'To the bodies of the gods', or 'to the gods, to (their)
bodies'

viśvā amītvāh pramuñcan mānuṣibhih (KS °ṣebhyah) AV KS

§696 A few cases involve different ablaut grades, or forms which
simulate that relationship

agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devānām yaja*
hedo agne (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *ava*
devān yaje hedyān TB ApŚ

apa snehātīr (SV *sñihitīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS *†nṛma-*
nām adadhrām) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi* (Poona ed *snuhi*) *tam*
nṛmnām (Poona ed *nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA

suśīmam somasatsaru AV *suśevam somapilsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS
TS MS KS ŚB VāDh

dhenā'm antah sabardughām SV *dhīnām antah sabardughah* RV The
gen pl of *dhī* is changed to an acc sing, but the accent of SV
shows that it has a false form (the true stem is *dhenā*), cf Oldenberg,
Noten on RV 9 12 7

lālāya (MahānU *lāle*°) *dhīmahn* TAA † (not TA) MahānU Names of Agni, of unknown origin Hardly to be classed as ablaut The two comms have different and equally ridiculous explanations *aśādhāya sahamānāya vedhase* (TB *mādhuse*) RV TB N Lexical

In the reduplicating syllable

aindraḥ prāno aṅge-aṅge nī dīdhyat (TS *nī dedhyat*, VSK *nīdhitāḥ*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS is felt as such, cf VV I pp 149, 160

§697 Cases concerning verb inflection An aor ind varies with a present opt But the KS ed reads as ApŚ, with *v* 1 as Conc *grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*) KS ApŚ VV I p 86

anu stomam mudīmahi (PB *made*°) RV AV PB Optatives of different verbs

mā tvāgnur dhvanayīd (TS °yīd, KSA °yed, MS *ghanayīd*) RV VS TS MS KSA

§698 Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *ā* is responsible for the variant, cf §694

vāmam pitṛbhyo ya idam samerire (AV *samī*°) RV AV ApMB

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS

See §180

3 2 a1

§699 Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vriddhi

vaśvānara uta viśvadāvyaḥ AV KS *yo vaśvānara uta †viśvadāvyaḥ*

(ApŚ *vaśvadevyah*) MS ApŚ Whitney's Transl adopts for AV *viśvadevyah*, which he states is the reading of Ppp, but this is an error, Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 358) has °*davyah*, intending °*dāvyaḥ* Only ApŚ has a derivative of *viśvadeva*

davyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitah MS *dāvyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV ŚirasU *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitat* AV TS KS ŚirasU

achirno divyas (KS ApŚ *dāvyaḥ*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

brhanto dāvāḥ (VS *divyāḥ*) VS MS ApŚ

nirbādhyena (AV *nair*°, Ppp *nur*° according to Whitney) *haviṣā* AV TB ApŚ

brhatā tvā rathamtarena triṣṭubhyā (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *vantanyā* MS KS *brhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vantanyā* TS

aphorena cakṣuṣā mītriyena (ApMB *maitreṇa*, KS ApŚ *cakṣuṣāham* *ḥvena*) AV KS ApŚ ApMB

indrasya vimṛdhasyāham (KS *indrasyāham vimṛdhasya*) *devayajyayā-sapatno* (ApŚ but not †MS adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS ApŚ MS

kapota (MS °tā) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS KSA *nairṛtāh*) VS TS MS KSA

nirṛtyai svāhā MS *nairṛtyai* (sc *dīke*) *svāhā* VāDh

vihāyaso (PG *vaiḥ*°) 'dhu *bhūmyām* HG PG *vi*°, abl of *vihāyas*, *vai*°, nom of adj *vaihāyasa*

indrasya kṣumam īrayann apasyubhiḥ RV SV *aindrah kṣumo vikvarūpo na āgan* AV

vawasato (AV *vawavān*) *no abhayam kṛnotu* AV TB TAA ŚŚ ApŚ SMB PG HG *vai*°, of course, means *Manu*

haranyandbhah (ŚŚ *har*°) *kausalyah* ŚB ŚŚ

indropānasyakehamanaso (MŚ *aindro*°) ApŚ MŚ The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ to *indro*°, while tempting, is hardly safe

§700 Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection

indrādhīpatih (MS KS °patyash) *pīpṛtād ato nah* TS MS KS AŚ 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °yi) TS MS TA The form in *yai* is dat of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor' The *yi* form would seem to be acc neut of a stem *śobhāyn* (cf §247), perhaps used adverbially

Two concerning aorist verb forms

āpo malam va prānaikṣīt (ApŚ *prānyan*) AV ApŚ See VV I p 129 *pītur va nāmāgrabhīṣam* (ApMB °bhaiṣam) ApMB HG See VV I pp 139, 186

And one in which *ai* contains the augment

yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmī*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ

4 ī ai

§701 Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr plur and nom-acc plur (fem) forms

indrena devīr (MŚ *devair*) *vīrudhah samvidānāh* TS MŚ

devīr devīr (ApŚ *devair*) *abhi mā nuvartadhvam* MS ApŚ MŚ

sapta ca vārunīr (PG °nair) *imāh* AG PG ŚG MG *sapta ca mānuṣīr imāh* ApMB HG Followed in all by

tisraś ca rājabāndhaviḥ (HG °*vaiḥ*) HG ApMB *prajāḥ* (this word belongs to *prec pāda*) *sarvāś ca rājabāndhaviḥ* (MG °*vyah*) PG MG *sarvāś ca rājabāndhaviḥ* (ŚG † °*bāndhaviḥ*) AG ŚG
ā dadhnaḥ kalāśair (ApMB °*śīr*, MG °*śam*) *aguḥ* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann va*, MG *arayam*) AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG MG

§702 There are three cases of *vriddhi* of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous, and one aorist verb form, also anomalous

strīṣūyam anyatra dadhat AV *strīṣūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāsv*) *ā dadhat* ŚG

madhvā yajñam nakṣatī (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prai*°) AV VS TS MS KS In the *pres mid pple* the *vriddhi* is quite out of place, 'blundering corruption', Whitney

yad adīvyann (MS *dāvīyam*) *ṛnam aham babhūva* (AV *kṛnomi*) AV MS TA BDh *adīvyann ṛnam yad aham cakāra* TB The original is *adīvyan* 'not gambling', MS has a stupid lect *fac* Add to VV I §231

indra enam (TB ApŚ *enam*) *parāśarī* AV TB ApŚ cf *indro vo 'dya parāśarī* AV But for the last SPP with most mss and Ppp °*śarī*, the regular form See VV I p 156

5 e ai

§703 Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of *ai* to *e* must be largely concerned in them They are fairly numerous, the great majority fall into three classes, to wit dative (or locative) forms in *e ai*, forms with *e ai* in the root syllable, in which *ai* is generally the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation, and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings

§704 First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat or loc) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it' *asmai* (TB *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivī bhūmī vāmam* (Conc divides AV before *vāmam*) AV TB *asme* is secondary

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS ApŚ *śrud asmaī naro vacase dadhālana* VS KŚ Keith assumes that TS intends *asmai*

asmai (MS *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahī śarma yachalam* TS MS AŚ *asmai* is certainly simpler

supippalā ośadhīḥ kartanāsme (AV *kartam asmaī*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV VS VSK MS 'For him' 'for us', equally possible

savitṛ prasavitṛ . *indrenāśme* (VSK °*śmai*) VS VSK As prec
asme (AV *asmai*) *dhārayatam* (MŚ °*tām*) *rayim* RV AV MŚ Different
 contexts, both possible

asme (AV *asmai*) *dhalla vasavo vasūni* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N
 Equally possible

asme (KBU *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin* RV KBU AG PG N
asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya (KS *rāṣṭram adhikṛaya*) MS KS *asme kṣatrāni*
dhāraye anu dyūn RV TS MS KS *asmin rāṣṭram adhi kṛaya*
 TS *asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne* AV Kauś Different
 contexts

asmai (MS *asme*) *karmāne jātah* MS ApŚ 'For our nte' 'for this
 nte' Probably lect fac in ApŚ

asme (AŚ *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspati* RV TS MS KS AŚ Probably
 misprint in AŚ

§705 Other dative forms in *e* ai, including infinitives

ta (VS ŚB *yā*, TS *te*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N
vāstūny) *ukmasi gamadhyai* (TS °*ye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N
 The TS form is anomalous, cf Keith's note and Whitney, *Gram-*
mar §976a Infinitives

havyāyāśmai vodhave (KS °*vai*) *jātavedah* TS MS KS Kauś Infini-
 tives

sugam meṣāya meṣyai (RV °*ye*) RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ *sukham*
meṣāya meṣyai VS ŚB

agne samrūd iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS
 ŚB TB Cf §396

ābhīṣ tvāham sūtave (HG °*vai*) HG ApMB

kuhvar (KSA *kuhve*, ed em °*vai*) *trayo 'runantāh* TS KSA

punse putrāya veltavai (ŚB BṛhU *viltaye*, KS *†kartave*, MG *kartavai*,
 v 1 °*ve*) KS ŚB TB BṛhU ApŚ ApMB HG MG

śakrāya sunavar (JB °*ve*) *tvā* RV JB

śrīyai (MG *śrīye*) *putrāya veltavai* (MG *vedhavai*) ApMB MG

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai PG *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG cf *parīdam*
vāso adhithāh (HG °*dhāh*, ApMB *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV ApMB

HG These forms are taken as datives by the PG comm, followed
 by Stenzler and Oldenberg It is uncertain whether this is cor-
 rect, or whether they are verb forms, see VV I p 112

§706 Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc sing
 and instr pl)

ghṛtavalī savilar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*yatih*) TS MS KS AŚ

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV **vāraḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV SV
punar brahmāno (*brahmā*) *yajñāḥ* (*agne*), see §339

§707 When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with *vriddhi* varying with other related forms without *vriddhi*

dāvīm (VS *devīm*) *nāvam svaritṛām anāgasam* (AV °*sah*) RV AV VS
 TS MS KS

devīḥ (AV *daī*°) *śad urvīr uru nah* (TS ApMB *nah*, and so Whitney for AV with most mss) *kṛnola* RV AV TS ApMB

dāvibhyas (KS *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS °*yas*) *svāhā* KS TB ApŚ
 Kauś

brhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *daivo*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*)
 VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

devān mā bhayād itī SMB *dāvān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ

imā yā devīḥ pradīśaś catasrah AV *yā dāvīś catasrah pradīśah* TB
 ApMB HG

sam devena savitrā TA *sam dawena* (and, *dawyena*) *savitṛa* VS ŚB
dvyah kośah samukṣitah MS *dawyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU *devakośah*)

samubṣitah AV TS KS ŚirasU

vācā tvā hotrā pañcabhir dawyair (MŚ *devair*) *ṛtvigbhir uddharāmī*
 ApŚ MŚ

mā devānām (TA *dawyas*) *tantuś chedī mā manuṣyānām* (TA *manu-*
ṣyah) MS KS TA ŚŚ

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyaṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaṣṭhyāya*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB PG

vaśśvānaram kṣāntrajityāya (TB *kṣetra*°) *devāḥ* VS TB

somaindrā (KSA *śsaumendrā*) *babhrulālāmāḥ tūparāḥ* TS KSA

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhah svastyasyādhvanah (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhva-*
nah, MG *sraṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah*, read *svastyā*° with most
 mss) *pāram aśīya* AŚ ApMB MG

meghyā (VS *maṅghir*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS TS MS KSA

§708 A couple of cases with *e ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding, it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary *vriddhi* or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e*. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants

avārāya kevaritam VS *pāryāya kawartam* TB The usual form is *kai*°, evidently of non-Aryan origin, and it is, to say the least, very possible that *ke*° is a Prakritism

veśantābhyo dāsam TB . *vaśantābhyo baundam* VS Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin, but this time the usual form is *ve*^o Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS

§709 Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *e*, where *ai* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §289c) The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731 Wackernagel, l c (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *ai*, *au* to *e*, *o*, besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *e* form

adhī na indraṣṭām (VS *indraṣṭām*) RV VS Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS is *indra-eṣṭām* This is the most certain case

neva māṁse na pibasi AV *naiva māṁsena pīvari* PG The AV p p reads *na*, *wa*, according to Barret JAOS 26 205, Ppp also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note) Yet it is possible that AV really intended *naiva*, which certainly is a more natural reading *jagatyaiṇam* (AŚ ^o*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veṣayāmah* (MS KS ^o*mi*, AŚ ^o*ni*) TS MS KS AŚ In VV I p 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyaiṇam* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh, to be sure the edition of AŚ inspires little confidence But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc *jagaty* instead of instr *jagatyā*)

enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā KS (prec by *-mānā*, actual text, *-māna-nāhne*^o) the MŚ version quoted in Conc as *idāhna id āharam aśīya* is Knauer's emend of corrupt mss which begin [-*mān*]-*enāhned*-, doubtless intending the same as KS

See also *anāmayaīdhī* etc, §344

§710 In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *e* vary with subjunctives in *ai*, see VV I p 28

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ ^o*hai*, MŚ *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ PG

yam jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS ^o*he*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

devān yajñīyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS

rayim yena vanāmahai (SV ^o*he*) RV SV

sacāvahe (MS ^o*hai*, p p ^o*he*) *yad avrkam prurā cit* RV MS

brahmāham antaram kṛnve (KŚ *karave*, read °*vai*) AV KŚ (? the proper subjunctive form would be °*vai*, °*ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant)

anu nau śūra mansate (TS °*taḥ*) RV TS KSA

yā na ūrū uśātī vīśrayāte (AV °*ti*, ApMB HG *vīśrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG

pari śvajāte (AV °*taḥ*) *libuḥeva vṛkṣam* RV AV N

pra yah satrācā (TB *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB °*taḥ*, text and comm in Poona ed) RV TB

dadhad vīdhakṣyan paryankhayātai TA *dadhrg vīdhakṣyan paryāṅkhayāte* (AV *vīdhakṣan pariṅkhayātai*) RV AV

manai (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham* RV VS MS KS ŚB N *yayā gā ākarāmahe* (SV °*hai*) RV SV

varuneti śapāmahe (MS †°*hai*, AV *yad ūcima*, LŚ †*śayāmahe*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

§711 There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf. §§694, 698, or, in the first two cases, to the augment *mṛtyoh padam* (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV °*ta*, MG *lopayanti*) *yad* (AV omits) *eta* (RV *aita*, TA *aima*) RV AV TA MG *vācaspate 'chidrayā hotrām arayat* (KŚ °*yant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *arayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB TA KŚ ŚŚ Augmented forms in ŚB KŚ, the ŚŚ is uninterpretable

ā te garbho yonim etu (AG *aitu*) AG ApMB HG *ā te yonim garbha etu* AV ŚG *ā yonim garbha etu te* AV *ā garbho yonim etu te* ApMB HG The preceding *a* proves AG secondary *aṣu* (AŚ *eṣu*) *dyumnam svar yamat* AV AŚ ŚŚ Perhaps misprint in AŚ, as Whitney on AV suggests

etat te agne rādha aiti (MS KS *eti*) *somacyutam* TS MS KS

grhān aṛmī (LŚ HG *emī*) AV VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG

abhyayati (SV *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamana* RVKh SV VS

§712 Miscellaneous cases

he 'lavo he 'lavo ŚB *harlo harlo* ŚBK Interjections

mā bheh VS TS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ *ma bhavh* MS KS MŚ Aorist verb forms, see VV I p 129, and next

mā bher mā VS VSK TS ŚB *mā bhaur mā* MS KS See prec *uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB GG °*naudhi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG See §122, and on the MG form, VV I p 87

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nake*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS MS KS ŚB °*yainam*, TA °*rohemam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Pronouns *imam enam*

latra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharantam (MŚ °retām, AŚ °bhavatām) TB
AŚ ApŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ fusion of *sambhara* and *elam*, in the
others dual verb forms

śatruhanam amitrahanam (KS *śatru*° *aśi śatruhanam*) *bhrātṛvrahanam*
asurahanam tvandram (ApŚ text *tvendram*) *vajram sādyaḥ*
KS ApŚ Here *tvendram*, if not a corruption or misprint, can
only be a phonetic reduction of *tvandram* (*tvā* + *andram*)

[*endram* (TB *andram*, but comm and Poona ed text *endram*) *acucyavuh* TB ApŚ]

6 u o

§713 The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables, thus, in nouns and adjectives

namo vah pitarah śuṣmāya (VS ŚŚ *soṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*)

VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720
matyaḥ śrutāya (*mahe śrotṛāya*) *cakṣase* AV (both)

ā mā stotasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamei*) TS Vait *ā mā stotasya stotram gamyāt* PB

duścyavanah pṛtanāṣād (°ṣād) *ayudhyah* (AV MS *ayodhyah*) RV AV
†19 13 7c, SV VS VSK TS MS KS Gerundives

deva gharma rocitas tvam deveṣu ā MŚ *rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣu aśi* TA
Causative and simple participles Cf next

rucito garmah MS KB ŚB TA etc *rocito garmo rucīya* TA Cf prec

ānandā modāḥ pramudah AV *ānando modah pramodah* TB *modah pramoda ānandah* TB *mudah pramuda āsate* RV Stems (pra)mud and (pra)moda

drunā (SV *drone*) *sadhasatham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV SV Stems *dru* and *drona*

714 With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations

dyumnāi sloki (KS *suklī*) *sa somyah* (TB *sau*°) RV AV SV MS KS TB
śuśevam somapitsaru (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh
śuśīmam somasatsaru AV See §180

sumitrah soma no (Kauś *sumano*) *bhava* RV TS MS KS ŚB KS
Kauś An obvious lect fac in Kauś

§715 Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists.

yan me mātā pralubhe (ApMB HG *pralubha*) ŚG ApMB HG MDh

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
Aorist and present, see VV I p 82

āditya (AV also *sūrya*) *nāvam ārukṣah* (SMB *ārokṣam*) AV SMB
See VV I p 130

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avarīya* (AV *avadydāt*) AV TB ApMB

mā bher mā roṇ (VSK *mo roṇ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŚB *mā bhair mā ruṇ mo ca* (KS *rauṇ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS See VV I p 129

mā dyāvāprthivī abhi śocīh (TS *śūsucāh*, KS *śucāh*, MS *hīrśīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See ibid p 128

devasya ([°]*syāham*) *savituh ruheyam* (GB *roh°*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB GB Vait MŚ ApŚ LŚ See ibid p 132

sa yathā tvam rucyā ruciṣīya (MS *rociṣīya*) AV MS See VV I p 186

On the following form see VV I p 281, the MG form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu*

antas tiṣṭhatu (MG [°]*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuh* SMB HG MG

§716 In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition

vasuh (TS ApMB *vasoh*) *sūnuh sahaso apsu rajā* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB Nom and gen forms, the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc)

dyumatīamā supratīkasya sūnoh (AV [°]*tīkah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §189

āyuskyte (ApŚ *āyoṣ°*) *svahā* KS ApŚ Both 'maker of life'

vāyosāvitra (TS p p [°]*trah*, MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA TPr 6 8 explains *vāyo°* by *vāyusavitṛbhyām*, it is a secondary adj in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyos*, cf *agner agneyāny* etc, §692

uror ā no (VS ŚB LŚ *pururāvno*) *deva riṣas pāhu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ See §371a

madhu reto (TS *madhor ato*, KS † *madhur ato*) *mādhavah pātu asmān* TS MS KS AŚ See §837

§717 The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*, cf below, §721

samdhitā samdhim (MS °*dhur*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB MS p p *puro*°, MS text *puru*°) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB *puru viśvān jūrvan* RV *puro rakṣānsi nṛjūrvan* AV

§718 Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf §§694, 698, 711
obhe prnāsi (TS *ubhe prnakṣi*) *rodasī* RV TS MS *prnakṣi rodasī ubhe* RV SV VS KS ŚB

ā yā dyām (MS *divam*) *bhāsy ā prthvivim orv* (KS *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§719 The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant *sayūr devair vayonādhanh* (MS MŚ *vayu*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna*, *vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd of *vayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy.

ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *manoyujah* (KS *manu*°, VīDh *manujushah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB BDh VīDh ApŚ Stems *manas* and *manu*

agnir havyānumanyatām (MŚ *havyā no man*°) TB ApŚ MŚ
pra nu (TA ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no* with all mss but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *nu*) *vocam cikituṣe janāya* RV TA SMB Kauś GG ApMB HG MG

pra nu vocam (ArŚ *no vaco*) *vidathā jātavedasah* (ArŚ °*se*) RV ArŚ
yas te stanah śaśayo (AV ° *yur*) *yo mayobhūh* RV AV VS MS AB ŚB TA BṛhU AŚ Equivalent stems, *śaśaya* °*yu*

yā coditā yā ca noditā (TA *yā cānuditā*) MS TA *na-uditā an-uditā yatheyam strī pavutram agham na rodāt* SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG See §801

agnaye tvā mahyam āyur (MS *mayo*) *dātra* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ See §228

sīdanto vanuṣo yathā RV SV LŚ *sīdantu manuṣo yathā* RV See §227
karma kṛnavantu (MŚ °*to*) *mānuṣāh* AV MŚ The MŚ form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation.

[*alo* (TB *talo*) *no rudrā uta vā* †*nv* (Conc *no*, TB *nw*, Poona ed 'nv, comm *anu*) *asya* RV TB]

7 ū o

§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut, but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §24).

abhi tyam devam savitāram onyoh (TS *ūnyoh*) *kavikratum* AV SV VS
TS MS KS KB AB ŚB AdB AŚ ŚŚ The isolated TS stem
ūni must mean the same as the regular *oni*

namo vah pītarah śuśmāya (VS ŚŚ *śośāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūśāya*)
VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG Comm on
SMB *sūsa itī balanama*

saṃ pūṣā (ApŚ adds *saṃ dhātā*, MS * *poṣā*) *saṃ bṛhaspatih* (KS *dhātā*) AV MS (bis) KS ApŚ *poṣa* is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guna forms of root *puṣ*. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmana passage immediately following its quotation with *poṣā*, and in the Brāhmana *pūṣā* is read Cf next

apī (PG *iha*) *pūṣa nī śīdatu* (AV ŚŚ **ti*) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMB
PG HG *rāyas poṣo nī śīdatu* ApMB ApŚ Cf *pre*, *rāyas*
poṣo is here evidently secondary, but sensible

kukūnanānam (KS *kūlanānām*, MS *pūlanānām*) *tvā* VS MS KS
ŚB *kotanānu* TS Wholly obscure words

yamasya pāṭūrah (KSA *pāṭo*) TS KSA *yamuyā pāṭūrah* TS *yomyāh*
pāṭorah KSA Uncertain part of the horse's body

aṅgoṣṇam (RV *āṅgūṣānām*) *avāśanta vānīh* RV SV Cf §490 and next

aṅgoṣṇam (RV *āṅgūṣyam*) *pavamānam sakhāyah* RV SV Cf *prec*
mano jyotir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB Vait *ājyam*,
AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ Vait LŚ
KŚ ApŚ MŚ Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms

dīvo jyote (KS **ti*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvan*) MS KS
vivasvān adītur devajūtis TS

§721. The stem *purū*, for *puru* in composition, varies with *puro* for *purā*, in the first variant quoted in §717, q v, and also in
taṃ sakhāyah purorucam (SV *purū*) RV SV

§722. The *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf §718 etc

yat kim cāṇṣtam oḍima (TA *ūdima*) MS TA

yad vācāṇṣtam oḍima (TB TA *ūdima*) MS TB TA

devatrā havyam ūhṛṣe (RV *ohṛṣe* and *ohṛe*) RV SV TB A complicated case, on which see *RVRep* 131 f, VV I p 237 f

§723 The rest are miscellaneous

amo 'ham *asmī sā* (AB *sa*) *tvam* AV KS AB ŚB BṛhU JUB AG ŚG Kauś PG MG *amūham asmī sā tvam* TB ApŚ ApMB HG *sā* (AB *sa*) *tvam asy amo* 'ham (ŚB BṛhU PG *aham*, ApMB *amūham*, MG *asy āpy amo* 'ham) KS AB JUB ŚB BṛhU AG ŚG PG ApMB MG *amo*, for *amas*, stem *ama*, *amūham*, peculiar sandhi connecting some form of stem *amu* (*amū?* *amus*, *amūs?*) and *aham*, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, p xxvii

aṅghrinā viṣṇo (KS *viṣṇū*, twice, ms once *viṣṇu*) *mā tvāva* (KS *vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS KS ŚB *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ See Von Schroeder on KS 1 12 and Keith on TS 1 1 12 1 *viṣṇo*, voc sing, -*viṣṇū* in TS *devatādvandva*, in KS elliptic dual (note *vām* in KS), but note also the phonetic resemblance between *aṅghrinā* and *agnā* of TS

tapūṇṣy (MS *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā palamgān* RV VS TS MS KS

Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūgāh AV *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapogāh* AB AŚ *sa tū* (SV *sato*) *dhanam kārṇe na pra yaṅsat* RV SV

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms obscure

8 u au

§724 Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the vriddhi of secondary derivation as regards their *au* forms, but one or two of them are strange forms (For the aorist forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rauk*, see §715, *mā bher* etc)

suslokyāya (ApMB *sau*°) *svastaye* ApMB AG PG MG

māham putram (KBU *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG *nyām*, read *niḡām*, with SMB *, SMB **niḡām*, **riḡām*) AG SMB ApMB HG KBU

ulūkhala (ApMB *aul*°) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG *akurvata*) ApMB HG MG *ulūkhalāh sampravadanti grāvānah* SMB

udbhinnam (ApŚ *audbhadyam*) *rājñah* MS ApŚ

āṣṭr na (*nā*, *ma*) *ūrjam uta suprajāstvam* (AV *sau*°) AV TS MS KS

KS Whitney rightly calls the AV form 'anomalous'

kumbhinasah (KSA *kaum*^o) *puṣkarasādo lohātāḥ te tvāṣṭrāḥ* TS KSA

Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the *vriddhi*, the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun

vāce krauñcaḥ (VS *krauñcaḥ*) VS TS MS KSA Again the two forms are apparently synonyms In this case the form with *vriddhi* is commoner, at least in the later language The origin and primary form of the word are unknown

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh *dyauh samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā* HG See §833

vyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG *vyuchat*) AV TS MS KS TB

ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB Augmented and augmentless forms

vy uchā (and, *aucha*) *duhitar dwah* RV SV (both in each) As prec

9 ū au

§725 Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning *vriddhi* of secondary derivation

†aindrāsūrāḥ śyetalalāmās (KSA *†aindrāsaurāḥ †syāmalalāmās*) *tūparāḥ* TS KSA

pausno (VSK *pūṣā*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc *mahāvīrah*) VS VSK

svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā KS *svarmūrdhā vayasano vyaśyann* MS

dhruvāya bhūmāya (PG *bhau*^o) *svāhā* TA MahānU PG

ūrvarāḥ ŚŚ Vait *aurvarāḥ* LŚ With both sc *pitṛbhūḥ*

§726 There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhauta*, from roots *dhu*(*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language

nṛbhīr dhūtāḥ (SV *dhautāḥ*) *suto aśvarāḥ* RV SV

nṛbhīr dhūto (SV *dhauto*) *vicakṣanāḥ* RV SV

apsu dharutasya (AŚ ŚŚ *dhū*^o) TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ

apsu dhūto (SV *dhautam*) *nṛbhīḥ sutāḥ* (SV *sutam*) RV SV

§727 In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment

praty auhatām (MS *ūh*^o) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV *asmāt*) AV TS VS MS KS TAA

10 o au

§728 Here again the largest group concerns the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation

dyumnā ślokī (KS *śuklī*) *sa somyah* (TB *sau*^o) RV AV SV MS KS TB

namo mauñjyāyormyāya vasuvindāya GDh *namo mauñjyāyaur-myāya* Svidh

yat somyasyāndhaso (ApMB *sau*^o) *bubodhatī* RV ApMB

juṣantām somyam (TB *sau*^o) *madhu* VS MS TB

somaindrā (KSA *ṣaumendrā*) *babhrulālāmās tūparāh* TS KSA
somāpauṣṇāh (KSA *sau^o*) *śyāmālālāmās tūparāh* TS KSA
yadī somasyāḥ rāyāh somāt Kauś *yadī saumy asī somāt* AG
Rvidh yady asī saumī somāya GG
caurasyaṇnam (TAA BDh *cor^o*) *navasrāddham* TAA MahānU VīDh
 BDh

[*ivam rauhinam* (AV misquoted *roh^o* in Conc) *vyāsyah* AV ŚŚ]

§729 Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems

mā (VS ŚB add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣena vi yauṣma* VS MS ŚB *māham*
rāy^o vi yoṣam TS KS TA ApŚ

ihava stam mā vi yauṣtam (ApMB *yoṣtam*) RV AV ApMB

mā bher mā etc, see §715

§730 Once the *au* form is due to prefixed *ā*, cf §722 etc

ā no (VS ŚB *mā*) *goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu* (TS *auṣadhīṣu*, MS *oṣadhīṣu*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB

§731 A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of *e* and *i*, §709, q v

upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena (TS *noṣṭhena*, KSA *adharoṣṭhena*) VS TS
 MS KSA See TPr 10 14

saha ojah (VS *sahaujah*, VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK AB GB AŚ Vait
 Adverb *saha* plus *ojah* in VS VSK, the latter with irregular *sandhi*, the other texts *sahas + ojah*

ya āviveśoṣadhīr (MS *śausadhīr*) *yo vanaspatin* AV MS There is a
 v l *auṣodhīr* in AV, which Whitney adopts in the text

[*sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS But several
 mss and p p of MS *svaup^o*, which should probably be read in the
 text. The second part of the cpd is certainly *opaśā*, and the first
 probably *sva*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su*, doubtless this
 was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS]

§732 Miscellaneous

asthūrī nau (*nau*, *no*, *no*) etc, see §950 Dual and plural pronouns *nau*
 and *no* (*nas*)

[*ye ke cobhayādātāh* (TA *cau^o*, Poona ed correctly *co^o*) RV VS TA
ye ca ke cobhayādātāh AV]

anupauhavad (ApMB *anu po 'havad*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*)
 HG ApMB The ApMB surely means *po* for *vo*, comm says *p*
 is 'chāndasa' for *v*, cf Winternitz, p xxi The HG seems to
 intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure

Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here, but nothing is really known of the word

agne devānām ava heda vyakṣva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *vyakṣva* is a desiderative from *yaj*, possibly for metrical reasons, KS presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present

dhanāni śakro dhanyah (AŚ *dhanih*) *surādḥāh* TB AŚ The reduction of the commonplace adjective *dhanyah* to the monstrous *dhanih* can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read *dhanī*, from *dhanan*?)

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like *id*, *īm*, varying with *yad*, *yam*, or the like

apām payasvad it (KS *yat*) *payah* RV KS *apām payaso yat payah* AV TS TB MS

gomān id (SV *yad*) *indra te sakḥā* RV SV

muṣkāv id (VSK **kā id*, LŚ **kau yad*) *asyā ejatah* AV VS VSK ŚŚ LŚ

matram na yam (TB *īm*) *śimyā goṣu gavyavah* (TB **vat*) RV TB

samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam it*, KS * *sarit*, all mss) *śravanti sarito* (TAA **iā*, Poona ed **to*) *na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS * ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ * MŚ

yadī tvam atra (Vait *tvam tatra*) *manasā jagantha* VS AŚ ŚŚ Vait *yad-yat tvam atra manasānuvettha* LŚ

iti cid dhi (AV **yadī cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantām* RV AV (both)

§736 In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition *ā* before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in *i*

mā dhenur atyāsārinī (HG *atisā*) HG ApMB The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB, HG has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea')

yajña pratiṣṭha sumataru susevāh TB ApŚ *yajñah pratiyāṣṭhāt* (v 1 *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumataru matinām* MŚ

toyena jīvān īmsasārja (TA text *vya ca sārja*, comm v 1 *vyasasārja*) *bhūmyām* TA MahānU The only possible reading in TA is *vyasasārja*, which is itself anomalous enough, see VV I p 140

abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ **bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v 1 **bhūvam*) MŚ

§737 Stems or endings in *i* varying with extensions in *(y)a*
agnir gṛhapatinām (MS KS *gārhapatyānām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
sūpasthā an vānaspatyah MŚ *sūpasthā devo vānaspatih* TS
ye 'gnayah puriṣyāh (*puriṣnah*), and others, see §907

devī dvārau (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS AŚ Vait The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait is impossible

sūryo rūpam kṛṇute dyor (MS *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV AV VS MS TB Only a gen can be construed here On *dyauh* as abl-gen see Wackernagel, III p 224, *infra*

yatrādhī sūra udito vrbhāti (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS Others, §63

mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito (AV °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nikārinah* AV VS. TS MS KS See §399

īmau (Kauś *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS °*ṣā*) *ajarau patatrīnau* (VSK TS † KS °*no*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Nom dual gen sing

11 'Samprasāraṇa', *ī(ṛ) ya, yā*, and the like

§733 We have already referred in §§656 ff to the phenomena of so-called *samprasāraṇa* as they concern *ṛ* in variation with *ra*, *rā*. Similar exchanges occur between *ī* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms. There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaj* *īj*, etc. The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory. They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *ī ya* as a live factor in the language. Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint

agne yat te tejas tena tam prati titygdhī (KS *tityagdhi*, AV *tam atejasam kṛnu*) AV MS KS ApŚ For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhi*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p 191

§734 All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following

prapīṇam (MŚ v 1 °*lam*, TS ApŚ *prapyātām*) *agne sarvrasya* (MŚ *sahlasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one

yatrāsate sukrto yatra te yayuh (AV *ta īyuh*) RV AV VS ŚB TA 'Roots' *yā* and *ī*, the latter form here metrically poor

vikrīda (KS °*da*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

antimitraś (TS *antiyam**) *dūre-amitraś* (MS 'mitraś) *ca ganah* VS TS MS KS Both probably mean 'having near friends', *anti* and adj *antya* Weber and Keith follow the comm on TS in dividing *antya-amitraś*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible
agnir havyam (RV KS *havih*) *śamitā sūduyātī* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

ahāh karīram (TB *ahāc char**) *payasā sameti* (TB **tya*) TB Vait (also AVPpp) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *sametya*, the 3d sing *sameti* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Samprasārana' Cf VV I p 164

kim it te viśno paricakṣyam bhūt (SV *paricakṣi nāma*) RV SV TS MS N The SV form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other

tāh prācya (**yah*, *prācīr*) , see §387 Equivalent case-forms, others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions

satyam vadanty anv iha (KS *anu yacha*) *etat* TS KS PG *anu-ṛṣ* 'seek after' *anu-yam* 'follow'

yebhir viśvam (SV *vy āśvam*) *arayah* RV SV *Vy āśvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift Benfey takes *asva* as a proper name

anyām iha pitṛśadam vyaktām (ApMB *vittām*) RV ApMB *jāmim iha pitṛśadam nyaktam* (read **tām*) AV *vittām* is certainly secondary Note that in *jāmim anyām* we also have a kind of samprasārana in the final syllable

acittapājā (TA *acyuta**) *agnī* MS TA ŚŚ Also *acittamanā* (TA *acyuta**) *upavaktā*, same texts Here *yu* i vary, cf the second variant in §736, and next

bhujyuh (MS *bhujī*) *suparno yajño gandharvah* VS TS MS KS ŚB *yu* ī, cf prec

pāhu mā didyoh (TS TB *mādyā divah*) VS TS ŚB TB

ayam yo 'si (MŚ *yo asya*) *yasya ta idam kīrah* KS ApŚ MŚ The latter certainly secondary

yena bhūyaś ca rātryām (ApMB *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *bhūris carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

12 Samprasārana *u(ū)* *va*, *vā*, and the like

§739 Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants, almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences The most clearly phonetic cases are

svar (KhG *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS ApŚ GG KhG *svar abhivyakhyam* (MS MŚ **kśam*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS KS MŚ *sur* is certainly for *svar*, cf. the Dhātupāṭha root *sur* 'shine'

katī dhāmāni katī ye vīśāsā MS *lo asyā dhāma katidhā vyūṣṭi* AV Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shine'

agnir havyam (RV KS *havh*) *śamitā sūdayātī* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically

agnir havyāni sūvadat RV *agnir havyā suśūdatī* RV

ayā no yajñam vahāsi KŚ *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe* ApŚ ApMB HG And others, see §502 Related roots *vah* and *ūh*

And similarly in suffixal elements

vidyullekheva bhāsvarā (MahānU *bhāsurā*, v 1 *bhāsvarā*) TA MahānU

Both these stems are familiar adjectives

madhūntamānām (VSK *madhvant*°, MS *madhughānām*) *tvā palmann ādhūnam* VS VSK ŚB MS The VS form is a kind of superlative to *madhu*, modeled upon *madin-tama*, which occurs in the preceding formula The VSK form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in *van(t)*

sugantuh karma karanah karīṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ So the printed ed of LŚ, BR read *sugantvah* 'leicht gangbar', but no **gantva* is recorded The text is evidently very corrupt

§740 Several times the AV presents the word *abhīśastipā(h)*, 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other texts read *abhīśastipāvā*, as nom of a suffixal form in *-van*, cf. Lanman's note in Whitney on AV 19 24 5, which suggests that AV is secondary *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV *gr*°) *abhīśastipāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG *abhūr grṣṭinām* (AV **vasānam* in text, mss *v āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*,

ApMB *āpīnām*) *abhīśastipāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV HG ApMB

ṛṣīnām putro abhīśastipāvā (AV °*pā u*) AV VS ŚB

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once *yad vā* (RVKh *u*) *devī sarasvatī* AV RVKh

§741 The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva* in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa* (§§364, 612) *nūvaś caranti svasica iyanāh* VS TS ŚB *nāvo vyanti susico na vānīh* MS KS

imam yajñam svadhayā ye yajante (KS *dadante*) KS AŚ *imam ca yajñam sudhayā dadante* MS *ya imam yajñam svadhayā dadante* (ŚŚ *bhajante*) VS TS ŚŚ

sugā (TS Ap^s *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS N *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KS Kau^s Ap^s *sadanāni santu*, KS *devās sadanedaṁ astu*)
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB KS Kau^s Ap^s N

sunīti svayaśastaram (SV *su*) RV SV

avabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś (KS *su*) *ca* MS KS So the one ms of KS,
but ed em *svagā*°, no doubt rightly, cf *ava*° *ca me svagā*° *co me*,
in Conc

ekayā ca daśabhaś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ
ŚŚ See §119

pryāṇy aṅgāni svadhātā parūṇṣi (Vait *aṅgā suktā purūṇi*) TB Vait
§742 The rest are sporadic lexical variants

urudraso viśvarūpa induh TS Ap^s *purudraso viśurūpa* (KS 'das-
mavad viśvarūpam) *induh* VS KS ŚB KS Other cases of *viṣu*
viśva in §291

dhūmrā babhrunikāśōḥ pitṛnām somavatām VS *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo*
dhūmrān babhrvanūkāsān Ap^s *babhru + nikāśa* (*anukāśa*)

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhi*°) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah syām*)
svāhā AG PG *brahmābhiḡūrtam svarākṣānah* (most mss *svārātrak-*
ṣānah) MG For AG Stenzler says 'moge ich Lieder ergießen'
asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avalā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu ā*) RV
SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso* †*valā haveṣu* AV

svādhyo (TB 'dhyo) *vidathe apsu jīanan* (TB *apsu aj*°) RV TB

purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*, comm *vanutām*) *viṣṭhitam jagat*
RV AV VS TS MS KSA N Sing plur, see VV I p 266

indrah (ŚŚ 'as) *patih tuviṣtamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*)
AV AA ŚŚ

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ ° *ā*, MS *januṣṭa*) MS AB
AŚ ŚŚ See §§693, 826

§743 A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or
vī is found varying with *u* or *ū*

vidyutām (PG MG *udyatām*) *iva sūryah* ŚŚ AG PG MG

adyā kṛnuhi vītaye (SV 'hy *ūtaye*) RV SV *ṇvat kṛnuhi vītaye* (SV
'hy *ūtaye*) RV SV The variation may also be considered one
between *yū* and *vī* (§805)

achadrān pārayiṣṇum (SMB 'yṣṇvīm) TS SMB Fem acc of *u* stem
drśāno rukma urvyō (RV KS *urviyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vṣ adyarut* (MS *vi*
bhāti) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB Cf §791, and next

variant The form *uruyā* seems to be characteristic of MS
cakṣur ma urvyā (KS *urviyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB
Cf prec

dhiṣane vīdū (*vīdvī*) , and others, see §169
yatrādhi sūra uditō vibhātī (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS *yasminn*
adhī vitatah sūra eti MS KS *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā* AV
 See §63

13 *aya e* and the like

§744 On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5 27 ff , Wackernagel I p 53 f It is clearly Prakritic in character The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following, the MS form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other

namah kṛṣṇilāya ca kṣayanāya (MS *kṣenāya*) ca VS TS MS KS
 Epithet of land

§745 In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *aya* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents, but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them

arejetām (TB *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV TB Cf VV I p 154, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB , which spoils the meter

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS MS KS ŚB °*yaynam*, TA *rohema*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
 See VV I p 152 The contracted form of TA is unmetrical

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB *kṣeti*) *carṣanīnām* RV MS TB The contracted form is again unmetrical Cf VV I p 123

agnir (also *vāyur*, *prajāpati* etc) *dikṣitah* *dikṣayatu* (JB *dikṣeta*)
 JB ApŚ See VV I §160

§746 Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles

pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ °*mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 83

tasyed (AV *tasya yad*) *āhuh pippalam svādv agre* RV AV The AV expansion is hypermetric, according to Whitney, Ppp agrees with RV

§747 As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e(a)* and *am*, *ayr*, *rye*, *rya*, *ā-yā* For *e ya*, *yā*, see §803

samsrāvabhāṅā (VS ŚB *samsrava*°, MS °*gāh*, KS Kauś °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *tanṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś See §96

TS p p *stha*, *iṣāh*, and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished', but this is implausible. The original doubtless means *stha iṣā* 'ye are great by food', Kauś, 'by strength'

tebhyo ghr̥tasya kulyaitu (TA *dhārayitum*) AV TA The AV form intends *kulyā-etu*, TA suggests *dhārayitu* (*dhārā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV and its secondary reading

āruroha tve sacā (KS *tvayy apr̥*) KS TB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

revati predhā yajñapatim ā mśa MS KS *revati yajamāne priyam dhā ā mśa* VS ŚB *revatir yajñapatim priyadhāmśata* TS ApŚ The old adverb *predhā* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS, and this is further broken up into *priyam dhāh*, 'establish the pleasant', in VS

vi dhūmam agne aruṣam mayedhya (MS *medhya*) RV VS TS MS ŚB TA *mayedha* and *medha*, both RV, are synonyms, it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them *agnir devebhyah suvidatryebhyah* (TA *suvidatrebhyah*) RV 4V TA N

In the original form **datryebhyah* stands for **datryebhyah* (suffix *ya*) *pratiravebhyah* (TA *pratirebhyah*) *svāhā* MS TA The correct reading is certainly that of MS, *pratirava* in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava* TA comm *pratirebhyo 'bhuvrddhihetubhyah prānadevebhyah* (as if *pra-tira* 'extending' [life]) *ā yāta* (SMB GG VīDh *eta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV SMB GG HG VīDh *ā-yā* and *ā-i*, synonyms

Compare the interesting case *agnim* (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV SV, see §843

14 *ava o* and the like

§746 See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *e*. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p 54)

to-to (MS KS MŚ *tava-tava*, TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rāyah* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§749 Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency *yaṭra yanti srotyās* (KS *sravatyas*) *taḥ jitam te* AV TS MS KS The fuller form of KS improves the meter. RV knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *sravanti* = KS *sravati*, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss of KS read *sravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyās*

sā nah priyā supratūrtir maghonī TS *sā nah supratūrtih priyā nah*

śuhār ṇah priyavanur maghavanur antā ehi MS In TS the regular fem of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*, in MS an *i*-extension of the strong stem

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK TS ApŚ °*vah*, KS *subho*) *sūryāya* VS VSK TS MS KS KB ŚB ApŚ The KS probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (-*bhū*), parallel to -*bhava*(s)

anābho mṛda dhūrte (read °*ta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApŚ Cf p w 5 Nachtrage, s v Possibly here also forms of root *bhū* may be involved, as in the last, but the readings are very obscure Epithets of Rudra KS ms reads *anārbhava*, KapŚ *anār*°

§760 We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*,

avamaḥ ta ūrvaḥ te kāvyaḥ te pūrbbhū bhakṣayāmi PB LŚ *ūmaḥ pūrbbhū bhakṣayāmi* AB ŚŚ Vait It is possible that the latter form intends *avama* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pūrbbhū* so well We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction Caland does not translate the word in Vait

For o *va*, *vā*, see §504

CHAPTER XVI INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

1 EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751 In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation. One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uw* for *v*, it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *v* have vocalic function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49-53, also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-rṣ-* or *-rṣ-*, in VV I pp 189-191. As Wackernagel says (p 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

§752 In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel, and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it.

§753 Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp 190-1, and Wackernagel I p 60. As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words *pra na* (MS *nā*, SV PB *na*) *āyūnvi tāriṣat* (VS *TS *KS *ŚŚ N * *tāriṣah*, Kauś *tārṣat*) RV AV SV VS *TS *MS KS *PB TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N *. The Kauś form is bad metrically *āchettā te* (TB ApŚ * *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS and all mss of MŚ *mārṣam*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ. Since the root is *riṣ*, the Maitr form (to be read also in MŚ) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*.

§754 In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms.

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu* (TS TB JB ApŚ *anu*, AV *dīvyā*) *acārīṣam* (JB † *acārṣam*, AV *acāyīṣam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB ApG MG Add to VV I §286a,
p 190 Note that JB is unmetrical

agne vralapate vralam acārīṣam (MS MŚ v l *acārīṣam*), VS TS MS
KS † ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ HG
vratānām vralapate (Kauś ²*palayo*) *vralam acārīṣam* (MS *acārīṣam*)
MS TA Kauś

§755 The original form of *paraśu* or *parśu* is uncertain, Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parśu*, but *paraśu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek *πᾶλεος*. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *svastīh*, the form *parśur* can be made to fit metrically), but note that in TS both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parśu* suspicious

paraśur (TS *parśur*) *vedīh paraśur nah svastī* (TS ²*tīh*) AV TS

§756 There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered

§757 The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u*. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h*. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*, this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter, to make the text metrical it has to be omitted

§758 First, between *r* and sibilants the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l c)

yad rātriyā (MahānU TA v l *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārīṣam* (TA v l *akārīṣam*) TA MahānU

duteh pultrānām aditer akārīṣam (MS *akārīṣam*) AV MS

tan nah parśad (MS *parīṣad*) *ah dviṣah* TS MS

daṣṣam te bhadrām ābhārīṣam (AV *ta ugram ā bhārīṣam*) RV AV

§759 The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed of TB text and comm reads *dhūrṣadam*. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p 56, likewise delete there the form *dhūrṣāḥ*-, which is supported by only one ms in TS 1 2 8 2, the other mss all read *dhūrṣāh*-

ghṛtapratikam va (TB *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB Bibl Ind *dhūrṣadam*)
RV TB ApŚ

§760 There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant, most mss of MS (in three occurrences) and of MŚ (in two) read with epenthesis *-valśā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśā* and only once *-valśā*

sahasravalśā (MS * MŚ v l *valśā*) *vi vāyam ruhema* RV VS TS MS *

KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The epenthetic *i* is bad metrically

§761 Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word The variation is really lexical (*spārha svāruha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering

spārḥā (TB *svāruha*) *yasya śrīyo dṛṣe* RV KS TB

spārḥo (TB *svāruho*) *deva nyulvata* RV SV VS TB

§762. A single instance between *l* and *h*

elad brahmān upa valhāmasi (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabalihāmahe*) *tā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

§763 Likewise one between *h* and *r*

dahram (v l *daharam*) *vipāpmaraveśmabhūtam* (TA Poona ed *vipāpam* [v l *vipāpma*] *vara*°, MahānU *vipāpman varam* [v l *vara-*] *veśma*°) TA MahānU Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known, the latter is required by the meter here

§764 Before labial consonants, generally *v*

puru tā dāśvān (SV *dāśvān*) *voce* RV SV The inserted *i* in SV is doubtless meant to improve the meter In RV *dāśvān* was trisyllabic (probably *dāśuān*, Oldenberg)

sutah sudakṣa dhanva (SV *dhanva*) RV SV Read *dhanua* in RV, the *i* of SV is to be explained as in the prec

aśvina gharman pātam hārdvanam (TA *hārdvānam*, read with Poona ed *hārdi*°) VS ŚB TA ŚŚ And others, see §267

varṣmā (VS *varṣima*) *ca me drāghmā* (TS *drāghvā*, MS *drāghmā*, KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS The *i*-forms of VS are exceptional Interesting is the TS form, which suggests a middle stage **drāghvā* (blend of KS *drāghvā* and VS *drāghmā*), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vy* *vy*)

Here we may also mention the common forms *prthvī* and *prthivī* In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form It is a disputed question which is the original, Wackernagel thinks *prthivī* (I p 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf e g Avestan *parəthwī*)

prthvī (VaradotU *prthvī*) *śvarcā yuvatīh sajoṣāh* TB VaradotU
 §765 Finally, an isolated corruption
yad asyā anhubhedyāh (LŚ *anubhadyāh*) AV VS GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
 Vait LŚ The LŚ form is an uninterpretable corruption The
 word *anu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke
 or wrote it

2 WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note, a briefer statement in Whitney 129d The *Prā-tiśākhya*s seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr, altho the resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS and other Tait texts In the commentary on TPr 2 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear

§767 The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here Certain broad general tendencies appear, the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittiriya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv* Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases The participle of the root *kṣi*, which in all non-Tait texts beginning with RV itself is regularly spelled *kṣiyant* with resolution, in Tait texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṣyanī*, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṣiyant* (§795) In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read *prornvāthām* (this time with VSK) against *prornuv*^o of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign *nu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a) Again, the word which in most texts is written *kvāla* seems to have in the Tait school the definitely established form *kvāla* (§782), nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmaṇa passages Similarly the adverb *urvyā* (so RV always) is spelled *urvyā* in TS (also in VS, §791), and *kuwayi* or *ya* of MS KS is written *kvayī* in TS and VS A Tait text (TA) even contains one of the three cases (*nyemur*, for *ni-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait school is otherwise so fond (§770)

§768 Nor is the Tait school the only one which displays this capri-

cious character KS in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uv* for *v*. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *tryavi*, KS in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *triyavi* (§776). The RV itself is guilty of one strange anomaly: the pres. mid. participle of the root *su* 'press', is always written *suwāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*, the SV in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794).

§769 Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense. This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic. Thus the writing *iy* or *uv* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing. Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary. In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait school) substitutes *iy* or *uv*.

§770 To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uv* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v*. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 59. These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention. They are

mā tvā ke cin nī (AV *ke cid tvā*) *yaman vim* (SV *ke cin nī yemur in*, TA *ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinah* RV AV SV VS TA. The TA form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *nī yemur*, so the comm. There is, to be sure, a *v* in *nī yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA.

graha viśvajānīna nyantār (KS *nyantār*) MS KS. This and the next passage are prose. KS can only intend *ni-nyantār*. *anvāsi* PB *anuvāsi* TS KS (not GB Vait., see §255) *anuvāya*.

MS. Here PB can only have in mind *anu-vā*.

§771 In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsu ā* is resolved to *apsu ā* which is then read *apsu vā* in TS (?§778), or when an original *nyañ* (from *nyañc*) is broken up into *nī yan* (thru the middle stage *nyañ*) in a secondary reading of AV (§778). Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *api yā* in SV (§785), and the RV *abhvam* (two syllables, not **abhvam*) is revamped by TB into *ab-bhavam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790). Other variants which have lexical bearings are *suwāñ* *svān(u)*, §778, *nu* for *nu* varying

with 'nv for *anu* (wrongly printed *naw* in TB Bibl Ind ed, §778), and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *iy* (§786) With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic

§772 The variants fall into five clearly defined groups First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *iy* or *uw* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel, most commonly after more than one consonant Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables, chiefly the one word *svar* (*suvar*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k-* (in which the *iy* or *uw* form seems to be more primary) Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *īya*, and written so in secondary texts, in practically all cases after more than one consonant Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel, again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *iy* or *uw*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles

§773 In all of these groups except the last, the writing *iy* or *uw* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait texts which show this secondary writing Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suvar*, the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait texts (such as KS, from which ApŚ frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *iy* and *uw* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV *swāna* (§794) Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter

A *uv* and *iy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

§774 Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV etc is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a)

ghṛte śruto ghṛtam v (TA *uv*) *asya dhāma* RV VS TA AŚ MŚ
praty u (TB *uv*) *adarśy* (TB *ṭadṛśy*) *āyatī* RV SV TB ŚŚ AŚ
na vā u (TS TB ApŚ *uv*) *etan mṛiyase na riṣyasi* RV VS TS KSA
 ŚB TB ApŚ

sa u (TS *uv*) *ekavinsāvartamh* TS MS Prose

§776 The spelling *uv* was regular from RV times in the word *svrita* (*svita*) It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tart texts *śarad dhemantah svrite dadhāta* (MŚ °*tu*) KS MŚ *śarad varṣāh svrite* (TS SMB *svritam*) *no dadhāta* (TS SMB *astu*) AV TS SMB
 The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS SMB because of their change to *astu*

svrite mā dhāh TS MS KS ŚŚ LŚ ŚG N *svite* etc VS GB ŚB AŚ
 Vait Prose

§776 The word *tryavi*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *tryavi* in KS, altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tart texts write this word *tryavi* (!) Two of the variants are prose, the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*

tryavir (KS *tryavir*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS TB

tryavir (KS *trya*°) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Prose

tryaviś (KS *trya*°) *ca me tryavi* (KS *trya*°) *ca me* (MS MŚ omit *me* twice) VS TS MS KS MŚ Prose

§777 The rest are sporadic

śrutudri stomam sacatā paruṣny (TA °*ny*) *ā* RV TA MahānU N In a jagatī stanza, RV certainly pronounced °*ny-ā*

asikny (TB °*ny*) *asy oṣadhe* AV TB

dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojasah (TB *dhṛṣṇuwo*°) RV AB KB TB

§778 False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following

yad oṣadhīṣu apsu ā (TS *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV VS TS ŚB *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsuv ā* As a matter of fact, this may be what TS really intends, but p p divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith

nyañ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °*im*) RV AV KS

The AV has a corruption based upon *nyañ* for *nyañ*

svāna bhrājā° VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *svān nabhrād* KS *svāna bhrāj* TA *svān nabhrād* MS MŚ In the latter *su-vāk* (*vāc*) is meant

[*ato no rudrā uta vā* †*nv asya* RV *tato no rudrā uta vā nuv* (but Poona ed °*nv*, and comm *anu*) *asya* TB We assume that the Poona ed is right, so that the variant does not belong here]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*

B Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

§779 These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds. Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form *suvar* is practically limited to Tait texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ) from non-Tait sources, retaining the non-Tait spelling. We note that in the variant **(u)varge loke samprornvāthām* TS KSA TB, the true reading of KSA is *†svarge loke †samprornuvāthām*, correct Conc.

§780 In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete)

pari lokān pari dīśah pari svah (TA MahānU *svah*) VS TA MahānU *divi mūrdhānam dadhīṣe svarṣām* (TS TB *sv*°) RV VS TS MS KS TB

hiranyavāśīr iṣṛah svarṣāh (TB *sv*°) RV TB —The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz

svarṣām (TB *sv*°) *apsām* (TB Poona ed twice *†apsvām*, text and comm) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB

§781 There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait text (TB) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements, if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait school, TA and MahānU, write *suvar* *tapasarṣayah* (MahānU °ṛṣayah) *suvar* (TB *svar*) *anvavindan* TB TA MahānU

§782 Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *iy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*, is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone, and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait school and to be regularly used there in this particular word - despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations.

pakṣmāni godhūmanīh kavalair (TB *kvalair*) *utāni* VS MS KS TB

Here, to be sure, the form *kvalair* makes better meter. But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kvāla* in the Tart school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmaṇa passage, TS 2 5 3 5 —The same word in

ajo dhūmro na godkūmaih kvālair (TB *kvālair*) *bheṣajam* VS MS, TB *kyāmbv atra rohatu* RV *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA *jāyālām*) AV TA

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling *i* *kuwayah* (KSA and p p of MS *°yih*) MS KSA *kvayih* VS TS

§783 Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *samdhwānā*, which TS substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *samdhwānā* of other texts We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *samdhwānā*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhū*)

samdhwānā (TS *°dhwānā*) *vātā abhi no grñantu* TS MS KS AŚ

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832, the word *bhīyah* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending *-bhīyah* (KS, or *-bhīh* AV)

vīśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih (KS *°ṣebhyah*) AV KS *vīśvā āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah* VS TS *vy amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣānām* MS

C Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

§784 Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in (*i*)*yañc*, (*i*)*yac*, where the *y* is treated in the same way In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character) In practically every case the writing *iya*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary It occurs almost exclusively in Tart texts The following are the metrical pādas concerned, beginning with the few (*i*)*yañc* stems *asmadryak* (TS *°dryak*) *sam mimāhi śravānā* RV TS MS KS

asmadryag (TS TB *°dryag*) *vāṛdhe vīryāya* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

te pāyavah sadhryañc (TS *sadhryañc*) *nīzadya* RV TS MS KS

mā te mano viśvadryag (TS *°dryag*) *vi cārīt* RV TS MS KS

vi mvacyadhvam aghnyā (TA ApŚ *aghnyā*) *devayānāh* VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ

vājam arvatsu payo aghnyāsu (TS *aghnyāsu*) TS KS

payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB ApŚ *aghnyāsu*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ *yad āpo aghnyā* (TS TB *aghnyā*) *iti* (omitted in TS TB MS KS LŚ)

AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ *yad āhur aghnyā it*
VS ŚB

ni vīram (TS *vīravā*) *gavyam aśvyam* (TS *aśvyam*) *ca rādhaḥ* RV TS
MS KS. Several mss of MS *aśvyam*

suḡavyam no vājī svaśvyam (TS *°vīyam*) RV VS TS KSA AŚ

parā duḡvapnyam (TB TA ApŚ MahānU *°nyam*) *suva* RV SV TB
TA ApŚ Kauś MahānU

achā devān ūcye dhṛṇyā (TS *dhṛṇyā*) *ye* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
sa budhnyā (TS TB TA *budhnyā*) *upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ* AV SV VS TS
MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ TA

pra budhnyā (TS *°nyā*) *va īrate* (TS *īrate vo*) *mahān* RV TS MS KS
AŚ ŚŚ

ahim budhnyam (TS *°nyam*) *anu rīyamānāḥ* (MS KS *anv īyamānāḥ*,
TS *anu samcarantīḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

svāyām lanū (ApMB †MG †lanū) *rtvye* (RV † *rtvye*) *nādhāmānām*
(ApMB *nātha°*, MG *bādha°*) RV ApMB MG

sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhīḥ (TB *°nyebhīḥ*) *samokāḥ* RV AB KB TB

lam sadhrīcīr ūlayo vṛṣṇyāni (TB *vṛṣṇyāni*) RV MS KS TB

brhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇyam (MS *°nam*, see §315, TS *°nyam*)
TS MS KS AŚ

§785 There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant
(cf §771)

ya usriyā apyā (SV *apī yā*) *antar asmanah* (SV *°ni*) RV SV The
adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apīyā*, is falsely divided in SV

§786 In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with
īy, that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary
noun formations in (*ī*)*ya* sometimes, the rest are either comparatives
in *yaṇs īyaṇs*, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in
īy is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in
plain *y* secondary, note that, most curiously, one of these secondary
forms without *ī* occurs in TS !

apo vṛnānah pavate kavīyan (SV † *°yān*, TS *kavīyan*) RV SV TS KSA

In SV nom of a comparative stem, in the others, of denominative
participles

turīyāditya (VSK *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV *hav°*) *ta vudriyam* RV VS VSK
TS MS KS ŚB

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical,
and is twice found in Tait texts alone

lam tvā grnāmi tavasam atavyān (TS *°vīyān*) RV SV TS MS KS N
Comparatives

sanīm gāyatram navyātsam (TA *navīyātsam*) RV SV MS TA Com-
paratives In the next case the meter is ambiguous

devā devebhyo adhvarīyānto (KS *adhvarīyānto*) *astkuh* VS TS KS ŚB
viṣṭum (°*am*) *no abhi* ('*bhi*) *vasyo* (TS KŚ *vasīyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KS
KŚ MŚ Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling
vasyo seems older

yathā no vasyasas (TS °*sah*, LŚ *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB
LŚ

unnetar vasīyo (KS *vasyo*) MS KS ApŚ Prose

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca*
VS TS MS KS Prose

pāra iṣṣavo 'vāryebhyah (KSA † 'vāriye°) *pakṣmabhyah svāhā* TS KSA
avāra iṣṣavah pāryebhyah (KSA *pāriye*°) TS KSA Prose

§787 The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *ya*
etāni te aghniye (PB 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS PB *etā te aghniye nāmāni*
VS ŚB MŚ In the latter form quasi-meter

ā pyāyadhvam aghniā (TS TB ApŚ *aghniyā*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

yāsyā apuṭryā (ŚG °*tryā*) *lanūs* ŚG SMB

ahir asi budhnyah (TS ApŚ *budhniyah*) VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ ApŚ
ahirbudhnya mantram me pāhi MŚ *ake budhniya mantram me gopāya*
TB ApŚ

ahir budhnyo (TS °*niyo*) *devatā* TS MS KS

namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya (TS °*nyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS *namo*
budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca KS

namo agrīyāya (VS KS 'gryāya, MS 'grīyāya) VS TS MS KS

namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya (TS °*nyāya*) *ca* VS TS KS

namo vidhryāya (MS °*ryāya*, p p °*ryāya*, TS *nama idhryāya*) *cāta-*
pyāya ca VS TS MS KS

namah śighryāya (TS °*ryāya*) *ca śibhyāya ca* VS TS *namah śibhāya ca*
śighrāya ca MS KS

sumatrā (VS ŚB MahānU ŚŚ KŚ °*tryā*, AŚ LŚ *sumtryā*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh ApŚ KŚ MŚ

And similarly *durmatrās* etc, see §315

aśvibhyām tiroahnyānām (MŚ *tirohnyānām*) ApŚ MŚ

tiroahnyān (MŚ *aśvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān* ApŚ MŚ

D Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

§788 Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly
every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *uv* is in

accord with the pronunciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, monosyllabic (radical) *i* and *ū* stems. In these we expect regularly *vy* and *uv* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a), consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y*, *v*, but Tait texts (and rarely others) show *vy*, *uv*. Second, derivative *i* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *ū* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d, only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792). Fourth, *ū* stems of the *vr̥kīś* type, the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*.

§789 Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *i*, *ū*. Most of the variants are metrical, we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhī*, *bhū*, and *pū*.
svādhyam (TS °*dhīyam*) *janayat sūdayac ca* RV VS TS MS
svādhyo (TB °*dhīyo*) *manasā devayantah* RV MS KS AB TB PG
svādhyo (TB °*dhīyo*) *vidathe apsu jīanan* (TB *apsu ajī*°) RV TB
tam tvā vayam sudhyo (TB *sudhīyo*) *naryam agne* RV MS KS TB
pāhu mam yajñanyam (TS TB °*nyam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ
vanesu citram vibhvam (TS *vibhuvam*) *vise viśe* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
vibhuve (MS *vibhve*, KS † *vibhave*) *svahā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ Prose
abhūbhūve (MS *abhūbhve*, KS *abhūbhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ Prose

śatam yasya subhvah (SV *subhuvah*) *sākam īrate* RV SV
mahiṣam nah subhvam (AVPpp ms *subhavas*, Barret JAOS 35 46 *subhvas*) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS *samudram na subhvah svā*
abhiśayah RV *samudram na subhvas tasthivānsam* AV Others,
 see §119

ghṛtena no (MS KS *mā*) *ghṛtapvah* (TS °*puvah*) *punantu* RV AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB According to Roth, AVPpp also °*puvah*
devas tvā savita punatu vasoh pavitrena *supvā* (ApŚ *supvā*) VS ŚB
 ApŚ *devas tvā savitotpunatu* *supvotpunānu* Kauś Prose

§790 A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam (TA *abbhvam*) RV TA The
pāda occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvam* was undoubtedly a
 disyllable in RV. In TA it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vam*
 'originating in water', according to the comm., see §392

§791 Derivative *ī* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases The first is the only case of an *ū* stem

samrājñī kvaśrvām (ApMB °*rvām*) *bhava* RV SMB ApMB On this form cf Wackernagel III p 189, l 1

asiknyā (TA °*nyā*) *marudvṛdhe vīstaryā* RV TA MahānU N
sūro rathasya naptiyah (ArS *naptryah*, TB °*tryah*) RV AV ArS KS
TB

ubhayor ārtnyor (TS °*nyor*) *jyām* VS TS MS KS
devo vamryo (VSK *vamryo*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ Prose
dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urvyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS *vi bhāti*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB This adverb is always spelled *urvyā* in RV, the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS, cf next

cakṣur ma urvyā (MS *uruyā*, KS *urvyā*) *vi bhāti* VS TS MS KS
ŚB Prose Cf prec

apīparo mā rātryā (MŚ *rātryā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ Also
apī° māhno rātryai (*rātryai*) etc, same texts
yad rātryā (MahānU and v l of TA *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v l *akārṣam*) TA MahānU *yad rātryāt kurute pāpam* TAA Here
by exception the meter favors the unresolved form

rātryai (TB °*tryai*) *kṛṣṇam piṅgākṣam* VS TB

rātryai (TS *rātryai*) *tvā* TS KS PB Vait

rātryai (TA ApŚ *rātryai*) *mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ

rātryai (TS TB *rātryai*) *svāhā* TS MS KS KSA TB

viśvapsnyā (TS °*psnyā*) *visvatas pari* SV VS TS MS KS Kauś

Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form

samvesāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai (TS ApŚ °*tryās*) TS KS PB ŚŚ
KŚ ApŚ

sa gāyatriyā (TS TB °*tryā*) *triṣṭubhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ
Kauś

gāyatriyai (TS °*tryai*, MS KS °*tryā*) *gāyatram* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mano gāyatriyai (TB ApŚ °*tryai*) VSK TB KŚ ApŚ

§791a The following case is peculiar

vilipṭī yā (*vilipṭyā*) *bṛhaspate* AV (both) In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12 4 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical Whitney would emend *vilipṭyā* to *vilipṭī yā*, but this is unnecessary, *vilipṭyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *āśnīyāt* of pāda c 'of the *vilipṭī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'

§792 Genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems On these cf Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoh* and *-voh* (rather than *-iyoh* and *-uvoh*) 'durchweg', the occurrence of the Tait spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV

indrāgnyor (TS ApŚ °*gn̥yor*) (prose formulas, see Conc) VS TS
MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayāḥ agnir indrāgnyoś TB *ayāḥ indrāgnyoś* MS
bāhvor balam TS TAA *bahu bāhvor balam* AV *bāhvor balam* Vait
MŚ PG

bāhvos (TS *bāhvos*) *tava hetayah* VS TS *hetayas tava bāhvoh* MS KS
palāṭi didyūn naryasya bāhvoh (TS *bāhvoh*) RV TS MS KS
ūrvoor (TS TAA *ūrvoor*) *ojah* AV TS TAA Vait MŚ PG

§793 The stem *tanū* and its type The only form from another stem than *tanū* itself is the fem accus sing *sudrvam* (from **sudrū*, fem to *su-dru*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV—The very numerous cases in which *uv* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait texts alone are not listed in full

nemim taṣṭeva sudrvam (SV *sudruvam*) RV SV
yasyai bahvīs tanūvo vītapr̥ṣṭhāh TB *yasyā bahvyas tanvo vītapr̥ṣṭhāh*
MS

na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS *tanuvī*) *repa ā dhruh* RV TS
tanūs tanvā (TS TAA *tanvā*) *me saha* AV TS TAA PG Vait
tanūr me tanvā saha MŚ The AV mss read °*me sahed antāh*
or the like, the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB *tanvar*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG
Note that PG has the characteristic spelling of TS from which it here quotes (there is a *v* 1 *tanvar*)

taṣṭa nas tanvā (TS ŚvetU *tanvā*) *śamtamayā* VS TS MS KS ŚvetU
NīlarU Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form

tanvam (TS ApŚ ApMB HG *tanuvam*) *me pāhi* VS TS MS KS AB
ŚB JB ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG ApMB Prose

E Verbal forms

§794 The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous A large group contains the participle *suwāna*, from *su* 'press', which is always

written thus in RV altho pronounced *svāna*, SV changes the spelling to match the pronunciation

pra svānāso (SV *svā°*) *bṛhaddiveṣu* (SV *°deveṣu*) *harayah* RV SV

bṛhat soma vāvṛdhe svāna induh (SV *svāno adrih*) RV SV

soma u ṣvānah (SV PB *ṣvā°*) *soṭṛbhūh* RV SV PB

nutrāh svānā (SV *svānā*) *arepasah* RV SV

indre svānāsa (SV *svā°*) *indavah* RV AV SV

ā soma svāno (SV *svāno*) *adribhūh* RV SV

pari ṣya svāno akṣāh (to be read *akṣāh*, cf Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc.)

RV *pari ṣya svāno akṣarat* SV cf *pari ṣya svāno avyayam* RV

pari svānāś (SV *svā°*) *cakṣase devamādanah* RV SV

pari svānāsa (SV *svā°*) *indavah* RV SV

pari svāno (SV PB *svāno*) *giriṣṭhāh* (to be read *°ṣṭhāh*) RV SV PB

svānā (SV *svānā*) *devāsa indavah* RV SV

svāno (SV *svāno*) *aṣṣa pavitra ā* RV SV

svāno (SV *svānair*) *yāti kavikratuh* RV SV

§795 We have already referred (§767) to the Tait spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣyant* etc.), in defiance of meter

prati kṣyantam (TS *kṣyantam*) *bhuvanāni visvā* RV VS TS MS KS

ŚB

ādityasya vratam upakṣyantah (TB *°kṣyantah*) RV MS TB

§796 Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait texts show *vyantu* for *vyantu* (root *vī*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical

samīdho agna ājyasya vyantu (TB *vyantu*) MS KS TB

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG

vyantu) *vayah* TS MS KS TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo*

'ktam (VSK *ṛpto*) *rihānāh* VS VSK ŚB KŚ The commas on

both VS and TS, followed by Keith, take the verb form from

vi + root *i*

vaswane vasudheyasya vyantu (TB *vyantu*) VS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ

vyantu (TS *vyantu*) *devā haviṣo me asya* TS MS KS

vyantu (TS *vyantu*) *devīr ya ṛtur janānām* RV AV TS MS N

vyantu (TB *vyantu*) *ājyasya* VS MS KS TB

uta gnā vyantu (TB *vyantu*) *devapatnīh* RV AV MS TB N

pibantu madantu (MS *°tām*) *vyantu* (TR *vyantu somam*) VS MS TB

prati na im surabhīnū vyantu (TS *vyantu*) RV TS MS KS

lekah salekah *vyantu* TS *salilah saligah* *vyantu* MS KS

§797 In two prose variants Tait texts, with VSK, read *prornvāthām*

for the more regular *prornvā°* (above, §767)

svargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait *svarge loke prornuvāthām* (MS
 "lām, VSK *prornuvāthām*) VS VSK MS ŚB *svarge* (KSA †
svarge) *loke samprornuvāthām* (KSA † "nuvā") TS KSA TB
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām (VSK TS ApŚ *prornuvāthām*, MS
 MŚ † *prornuvāthām*) VS VSK TS MS ŚB KS ApŚ MŚ
vapayā dyāvā *prornuvāthām* Kauś

§798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th, *tud*-class?) with *u* exchanging with *uv*. The latter are commoner in most texts.

mano nu ā hūvāmahe (Vait "hū, VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hūvāmahe*) RV VS
 VSK TS MS KS AB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś
 See VV I §2

īam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV

CHAPTER XVII METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

1 Metathesis

§799 On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800 We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another. *pūlyāny* (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB. Here mss of both texts present both readings, and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic.

asmaddātrā devatrā gachata madhumatīh TS *asmadrātā* (MS KS ŚŚ add *madhumatīr* or 'ī) *devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*) VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ. The TS is doubtless secondary 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates, this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA *yasyedam oja ārujah* ŚŚ. See §244.

endram vagnunā vahata PB *vagnunendram hvayata* TB ApŚ.

§801 Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times.

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU. In MahānU *v* 1 *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yan nāmne* for *yatnān me*. The comm. understands 'let that (all) be my (*ātmanah*) portion by effort—no other'. TAA comm. says *nāman* = *paramātmān*!

yathēyam strī paritram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīparitram agham na rudrīyāya* MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption. Original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'.

adhā jūrī (AV *atha jūrīr*, mss *jūrū*, ApMB *athā jūrī*) *vidatham ā vadās* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB. See §544.

§802 More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants

yena turyeṇa brahmanā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās tena mahyam pavasva JB
yena rūpena prajāpataye 'vapathās tena mahyam pavasva KS The original is 'vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS, *trir vasubhyo 'vapathās* etc (see Conc) If the JB reading is correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the following *pavasva*

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS *pulīkayān*) VS MS See §149, and next
nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-*
rayas) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA See under prec

svasti nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākṛteṣu*, *v* 1 as RV) *yonuṣu* RV
 AB MG

vśvasmai bhūtāyādhwaro (KS MŚ *bhūtaya dhruvo*) *astu devāh* (TS
 °dhvaro 'st) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

abaddham mano daridram cakṣuh sūryo TS KŚ BDh *adabddham*
mana iṣuram cakṣuh (MŚ *adabddham cakṣur ariṣtam manah*) *sūryo*
 MŚ ŚG

gharmam śocantah (AŚ °ta, ŚŚ °tam) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*)
bibhratah AB AŚ ŚŚ

chandonāmānām (VSK *chandomānānam*, TS °mānām) *sāmraḡyam*
gacheti (VSK *gachatād iti*, MŚ *gached iti*) VS VSK TS
 ŚB MŚ

jarī cetid (ms *cetid*, *p p rya iti it*) *abhīśiṣah* MS *ya* (TA ApŚ ApMB
yadḡ ṛte (PB †*yakṣate*) *cīd abhīśiṣah* RV AV SV PB TA KŚ
 ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB See §193

ye no dviṣanty anu tām rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ
yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva ApŚ Here MŚ transposes the syl-
 lables *nu-ta*

apa snehatīr (SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛma-*
nam adadhrām) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhī tam nṛmnām* (Poona
 ed *stuhī tam nṛmanām*) *athadram* TA See §110 The KS
 reading looks like a metathesis of *adhad rām*

agne dakṣah punīti nah (TB *mā*, MS *punīmahe*) RV MS TB The
 MS reading may be a metathesis of that of TB, which is secondary
 to RV

śam te hīranyam śam u santu (ApMB *sam u śantu*) *āpah* AV Kauś
 ApMB See §277

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhī*°, MG *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāni*

(PG *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svarākṣānah*, most mss *svarārakṣānah*)

AG PG MG Evident corruption in MG

divas (SV *divah*) *prsthām adhi tṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV *ṭrohanṭi tejasā*)

RV SV With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf §57

vājaś ca prasavaś vasuś (TS *suvaś*) *ca* TS KS The syllables *va-su* exchange position yielding *suvaś* (= *svar*)

§803 When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms These cases are related to §§747 and 748ff above, *q v* The following are instances of *e* (= *ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*

arthaś ca ma emaś (VSK *me yāmas*, MS *ca mā ema*) *ca me* VS VSK TS

MS KS

īṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ *vrṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtam svarvidam* MS KS ApŚ

ahā yad dyāvo (AV *devā*) *asunūtim ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV

āyur vasāna upa vetu (AV TA *yātu*) *śeṣah* (TA *śeṣam*) RV AV TA

itidam visvam bhūvanam sam eti (AV *vi yāti*) RV AV N Synonymous and related roots : and *yā*

ahorātre āvraṣṭīve (VS *ṣṭhīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vrṣṭyā*) VS TS MS

See §840

iyam pitryā (AB *var pitre*, AŚ ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV GB *etv*) *agre*

AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

twayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MŚ

KS ŚB Cf VV I §175, and next

ā mā stulasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB See prec

vanaspatinr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (*rāye aśyāh*) RV (both)

ghṛtam eva (BDh *ghṛtam yavā*) *madhu yavāh* BDh VdH

§804 Instances of *o* (= *av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*

sāmāni cakruḥ tasarāny olave (AV °nī *vālave*) RV AV

vasiṣṭhahanuh śvīgīru kośyābhyām VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam śvīgīrukośyābhyām* (TA °*kośā°*) TS TA

sam eta viśvā (AV *ṭvīve*) *vacasā* (SV *ojasā*) *patim divah* AV SV Roth quotes Ppp as reading *oham ā-*, evidently for *ojasā* See §52

pari ghraṇsam omanā (TB *parighraṇsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N Bad corruption in TB

§804a A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *madhoh madhvah* While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavanā ūrmayah* RV SV

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV SV
madhoh pibalam aśvinā VS MS ŚB TA LŚ *madhvah* etc RV VS
 AŚ ŚS

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pibanti gauryah* RV SV AV MS
madhoś cakānaś cārur madāya AV SV *madhvaś* etc AŚ ŚŚ
vasvah (TB TA MahānU *vasoh*) *kuvid vanāti nah* RV KS TB TA
 MahānU *

§805 Instances of *vi*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*

achā ma (SV *va*) *indram malayah svarīdah* (SV *svaryuvah*) RV AV SV
 GB Vait

adyā (also *nṛvat*) *kṛnuhi vīlaye* (SV **hy ūlaye*) RV SV Cf §743

āvīte (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhīh* RV VS TS MS KS

nādya śatruṁ nānu (ŚB *īna nu*) *purā vivīse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV ŚB

ivalam (MS KS *yuvalam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā te vyoma (= *vyoma* or *vioma*, AV *yuyoma*) *samdr̥śi* (AV **śah*, LŚ †
**śah* or **śe*) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG

yajñam pranaya (TS *pra sva*) *devāvyam* (TS MS *devāyuvam*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB

devebhyaś tvā devāyuvam (KS *devāvyam*) *pr̥nacmi* etc MS KS ApŚ MŚ

devebhyaś tvā devāvyam (VSK *devāyuvam*) *gr̥hnāmi* etc VS VSK ŚB
prāsmān ava pr̥tanāsu pra vikṣu (TB *yulsu*) RV TB

ukthebhyaś tvokthāvyam gr̥hnāmi KS *ukthebhya ukthāyuvam* ApŚ
varṣmā (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghima* (TS *draghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*,

KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS See §764 TS apparently
 has a metathetized form for **drāghivā*

§806 With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared §§656ff In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *r* vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *r*), or as guna derivatives of a root in *r*

tēna rādhyāsam VS ME ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś *tenardhyasam*

KS SMB The latter stands for *tēna rdh**, cf §659

agnau samrāadhanīm yaje HG *yaje samrāadhanīm aham* ŚB BṛhU

AŚ SMB ApMB *yuje* (read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt
 p 250) †*samardham im aham* ŚS

ahā avartim (AV *aratim*) *andat* (AV **dah*) *syonam* AV TB ApMB

2 Haplogy

§807 On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, *PAOS* 16 xxxiv, *AJP* 17 418, Wackernagel I pp 278ff, where further references may be found, we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV 4 5 5, and other

references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplology; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable.

§808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplology: *prthivi vibhūvarī* (ApŚ *bhūvarī*) KS ApŚ. This is a very clear case. On the strength of the isolated ApŚ form Boehtlingk (pw 6 304) set up a goddess *Bhūvarī*, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvarī* after *prthivi*.

śivasyaṃ vāś pravivśānsam (KS *†pravivśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS *viśo-vśah pravivśānsam īmahe* AV. Lanman, in Whitney's *Transl.*, has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplology. But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also. *ya āste yaś ca carati* (AV *yaś carati*) RV AV. The haplology is again noted by Lanman.

trīni padāni (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA MahānU *guhāsyā*) AV VS TA MahānU. The ms of Ppp *padānīhātā guhāś-*, em Barret JAOS 30 195 to the AVŚ reading. Clear haplology in TA MahānU.

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītātano ('śīratano, 'śītama) pāhi, see §353. *yañi kāni ca cakṛma* (ApŚ mss omit *ca*, by haplology) MS ApŚ cf *duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma* MS *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS TB TA (here not really haplology, *ca* is needed only after *kāni*).

ye vā (MS omits *vā*) *vanaspatīn anu* (MS NīlarU **palīnām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB NīlarU ApMB. Supposed to be metrical even in MS, which is clearly haplological. In the same verse

ye vavateṣu (MS *†KS ye 'vateṣu*) *śerate*, same texts. Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *avateṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplological.

tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (MS *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS MS ŚB TA cf *eṣā te agne samat tayā* (MS *tayā tam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS ŚB ŚS MS ApŚ ŚG ApMB ApG HG. The second *ca* is clearly required.

yad eva kim ca pratijagrahāham (TA **jagrāham*) AV TA. The TA form (also found in Poona ed.) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplological.

nyag vāto 'va vāti (AV *vāto vāti*) RV AV. Lanman notes the haplology *yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhah* RV *yūyatām asmad rapo apa sridhah* TB ApŚ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long *ū*.

an̥homuce pra bhareṃā (AV *bhare*) *manāṣām* AV TS MS KS See VV I p 253

anād̥hṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāh VS MS KS ŚB *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah* TS See Keith on TS

chandonāmānām (VSK **mānānām*, TS **mānām*) *sāmraṣyam gachetī* (with variants) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic slip

yad ṭapsaradrūr uparasya (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādatī* KS ApŚ The latter corrupt

guhā hitām nihitām (KS † omits *ni*?) *gahvareṣu* KS MŚ

namah śamgave (TS † *śamgāya*, for **gayāya*?) VS TS MS KS See §250

yas̥yedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yas̥yedam ā rajah* AA Others, see §244

viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (MS **nā vi*?) RV MS TB *viśvānyo bhuvand vicaṣṭe* AV

parīdam vāy ajinam (PG **dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajinam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG HG ApMB The PG is not construable [*yo no agne niṣṭyo yo 'niṣṭyo* KS ApŚ Conc quotes ApŚ as omitting the second *yo*, a modern haplology!]

§809 The following cases are less certain

mama ca nāma tava ca (KS once omits *ca*) *jātavedah* KS (both) The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical, this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā-*)

puru viśvāni jūrvan RV *puro rakṣāṇi ni jūrvan* AV (Ppp *vikvāni-jūrvan*) Whitney suggests *viśvā ni jūrvan* for RV, Lanman, *viśvāni ni*°, assuming haplology As Oldenberg (*Noten* on I 191 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda, he would read *jūrvan*

svavān nabhrād anghāre bambhāre MS *svāna bhrājān̥ghāre bambhāre* VS TS ŚB *svāna bhrāj, anghārīr bambhārīh* TA *svān nabhrād anghāre bambhāre* KS See Keith on TS 1 2 7 1, he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original

3 Dittology

§810 The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation

kukūnanānām (KS *kūtanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā* VS MS KS ŚB *lotanāsu* TS Note double dittology in VS ŚB

namo babhluṣāya vyādhine (TS *vyāḍa*) VS TS MS KS Either form makes good sense, we assume that the majority have the original *athem enam pra kṛnutāt pṛbhyah* (AV *†pṛtṛ upa*), and

athem enam (AV *athemam enam*) *pari dattāt pṛbhyah* RV AV TA See Whitney on AV 18 2 4, 5 There is no doubt of the dittology in AV (note the meter), in 18 2 5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss and both editions In 18 2 4 there is more variation in the mss, and SPP reads *athem enam* with the comm

devā (AV *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV AV The meter proves AV secondary, and Ppp (Barret, JAOS 42 127) also omits *vā(v)*

namo gṛisāya (VS *ṣayāya*) VS TS MS KS The stems *-sa* and *-ṣaya* are both unexceptionable, probably the majority indicate the original

na sīm adeva āpat (SV *āpa tat*) RV SV ŚŚ The RV has an aorist of *āp*, to be read as a trissyllable SV tries to improve the meter, cf VV I p 138

nṛtīm nṛjarpalpena (MS *nṛjarpena*, TS *nṛjālmakena*, KS *nṛ-jālmāka-*) *sīrṣṇā* VS TS MS KS Obscure word, VS simulates an intensive from *jarp*

ye te agna (MS *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayah* (TA *urnunābhayah*, hut Poona ed *u nā* with *v l urnunā*) MS KS TA The absurd corruption of some TA mss seems to be read by the comm also, perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrnābhī* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here

anhaspatyāya (VS ŚB KS *anhasaspataye*) *tvā* VS TS MS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ Stem varying with genitive case form in composition

ṛtur jantrī tasyā apas (GB *apasas*) *pari* RV GB If GB is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *pari* (in RV *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *pari* governs *tasyāh*) But Gaastra reads *apas*, with *v l apasas*

tanūpās (TB Poona ed text and comm *tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS KS TB See §195

tṛr asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh *ḥrīre*) RV SV Svidh See VV I p 170

vr̥ṣā pantiṛe adhī sāno avye (RV **avyaye*) RV (both) SV TA MahānU N Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *avya?* or *avi?*) are well known, and both are metrically possible, they are triṣṭubh and jagatī forms of the same expression But the latter occurs in a verse

(9 86 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RV Rep* 453), so that *avye* is probably original

ājim na gīrvavāho jigyur aśvāh SV *ājim na jagmur gīrvāho aśvāh* RV
For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV the original. Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 24 6. The SV form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely

§811 Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following

nādhedhāsi puruṣpārham (so KS and TB Poona ed., and p p of MS, MS text *puruṣaspārham*) *yaśasvat* MS KS † TB †

tato vākā (TS *tatah pāvakā*) *ākiṣo no juṣantām* VS TS MS KS ŚB
'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers', TS spoils the meter Dittology with *p* for *v*

tena yo 'smat (TA * *tenānyo 'smat*) *saṃr̥cātari* (MS mss *saṃr̥cātām*) MS TA The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here. TA repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change, the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc

indrāpāsya (v 1 **yāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya śephām* altkam HG Kīrste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'

4 Haplology or Dittology

§812 In a smaller group we find either haplology or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine. Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām*

āyur br̥hat tad aśya tan māvatu (MŚ *mām avatu*) ApŚ MŚ

tan mām āvīt TA TU *tan māvīt* MG

tan māvatu PB TA TU ApŚ *tan mām avatu* MŚ AG MG

punar mām aītv (AV Vait Kauś *maītv*) *indrīyam* AV ŚB TA BṛhU ŚŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB GG HG MG

§813 Other, miscellaneous cases

vājayityāyari (KS **jityari*) *tvā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ Stems *jityā* and *jiti*. While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive. KS is probably on the whole the most original YV text, only two other schools differ from it, and *jiti* is a much commoner stem than *jityā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*

śiśuvāya vikakarān (KSA †*vikarān*, ApŚ *vikirān*, vv 11 *vikakarān*, *vikikarān*) VS KS ApŚ Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird). Cf the preceding formula, *hemantūya kakarān* (KSA †*kakarān*)

- aneśann asya yā ivaḥ* (TS KS NīlarU *asyeṣavah*) VS TS MS KS
 NīlarU The presence or absence of the articular relative makes
 little difference, and the meter is no better in one reading than in
 the other
- bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣṭiṇca* (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB ApŚ MŚ
 See §236, end Either haplogy in TB ApŚ, or dittology in MŚ
 which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*
- anu no mārṣṭu* (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad vriṣṭam* (*vṛiṣṭam*)
 AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ

CHAPTER XVIII FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814 Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

1. A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change.

§815 In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation.

§816 We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable.

jaḡāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam (AV *vi madhyam*) RV AV Whitney rightly says that the AV reading is a corruption of the other *oṣiṣ(ha)hanam śiṅgīniśkośyābhyām* (TA **kośābhyām*) TS TA *vasiṣtha-hanuh śiṅgīniś kośyābhyām* VS. The VS reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended.

yatheyam strī paudram agham na rodāt SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpaultram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca MS *ghora ghoratarebhyah* TA MahānU. Preceded by *aghorebhyo 'tha ghorebhyah*. The forms of Rudra are meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms. of MS has two accents, but MS p p takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original. TA has two accents, yet its comm. understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed. prints it so (but with two accents!). Comm. on MahānU, however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.

manasaspata imam deva yajñam (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS KS ŚB The variants in AV 7 97 8 and TS 1 1 13 3, 4 44 3, have *deveṣu yajñam*, which supports KS in meaning The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm on VS, but the accentless voc is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd)

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācachidrayā juhvā duri devāvṛdham (ŚŚ *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām arayat* (KŚ °*yant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *arayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB TA KŚ ŚŚ The ŚŚ is uninterpretable

§817 In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose

yajur yuktam (TA † *yajuryuktam*) *sāmabhur aktakham tvā* (MS *ṛkta-khamta*) MS TA Comm on TA, 'provided with the *yajus*'

In MS two accents 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like

madhu śaṣpair (MS *madhuśaṣpair*) *na teja indriyam* VS MS TB In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bheṣajam*, or *śaṣpair* MS p p divides *madhu śaṣpair* as two words, Poona ed of TB prints it as one, but with two accents¹ (and against the comm)

madhu havir (MS *madhuhavir*) *asi* MS TA ApŚ MŚ So according to the accents of MS and TA Probably MŚ must be read *madhuhavir* like MS, Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutam havir* in MŚ 4 3 34, but MS also reads *hutam havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word Cf prec

devabarhih (KS *deva barhiḥ*) *śatavalśam vi roha* TS KS TB ApŚ *atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalśo* (MS *tvam barhiḥ śatavalśam*) *viroha* VS MS ŚB The latter version suggests taking *deva barhiḥ* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS The words are voc, so that the accent proves nothing, TS p p takes it as one word But Poona ed of TB prints it as two

avīvarata vo hi kam (TS *hikam*, so printed also in KS †) AV TS MS KS

Comm on AV (as also that on TS) as a single, compound particle

upa prakṣe (AA ŚŚ *upapṛakṣe*) *madhumati kṣīyantah* SV AA ŚŚ Svīdh This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA Transl, p 285 n 7 Keith's text of AA prints *upa prakṣe* with most mss, but against comm, who understands *upapṛakṣe* as a prepositional cpd, 'near the *prakṣa*' Cf also the infinitive (?) *upapṛakṣe*, RV 5 47 6

- namas te rudra rūpebhyo namah* MS *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah* TA MahānU 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage' 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'
- śvā vśvāha bheṣajī* (TS °*habheṣajī*, VS °*hā bhe*°, MS °*ha* [p p, °*hā*] *bheṣajā*) VS TS MS KS There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not
- devīh* (AV *dawīh*, KS *trayīṣ*) *ṣad urvīr* (TS p p *ṣadurvīh*, and so Conc assumes for ApMB HG) *uru nah* (TS ApMB *nah*, KS † *nas*) *kṛṇota* RV AV TS KS ApMB HG The words are voc and there are no accents RV and AV p p interpret as two words, which seems more natural No doubt all texts except possibly the Tait school separate *ṣad urvīr*
- deva puraścara saḡhyāsam* (MS *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ MŚ See §147, and §338 MS p p divides *deva* from *puraś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*)
- imām su nāvam āruham* TS KS ApŚ *sunāvam ā ruheyam* VS (pratika PG)
- pra su* (HG *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumartyam*) *yuyolana* SMB ApMB HG The reading of ApMB is original
- apa* (AV *ava*) *śvela padā gah* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah śvelapad ā gah* MG Read *apa śvela padā* in MG, there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text See his note and comm., and our §134

2 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818 Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts

- stomatrayastrinṣe bhuvanasya patnī* TS KS AŚ *stomas trayastrinṣe bhuvanasya patnī* MS The latter corruptly turns the vocs into nouns, apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender
- vāñmanaścakṣuhśrotraḡhvāghrānaretobuddhākūṭisamkalpā* (TA TAA °*ākūṭih samkalpā*) *me sudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU See §383
- śarīram yajñasamalam* (MahānU *yajñah śa*°) *kusīdam tasmin śidatu yo* 'smān dveṣṡi TS KSA TA MahānU The latter is clearly second-

ary, comm makes *śarīram yajñāh* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body' On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB HG The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow', but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression

tām vidyām brahmayonim svarūpām (VaradapU *brahmayonīsva*) NṛpU VaradapU 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman', either is possible

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇojasam (SV *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV SV 'Of irresistible strength' 'irresistible in strength'

mithucarantam (KS *mithū*, TS *mithuś car*, AV *mithuyā car*) *upayāti* (AV *abhīyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV TS MS KS There is really no way of deciding the original

agner (TS *devānām*) *agneyāny* (KS *agnīyāny*) *asī* TS MS KS One ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asī* Cf *agner yāny asī* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ See §357

devajūte vivasvann āditya te no devāh MS *vivasvān aditir devajūtis te na ādityā* TS *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya te no devā* KS Both parts of the cpd are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words

syonā māvirāteramadah (TS *terā madah*) TS MS KS The TS may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural 'kindly enter into me as food and drink' But it is probably a lect fac for the other 'kindly enter into me as Irammada (Agni, lighting?)'

rtaprajātā (MŚ *uta pra*) *bhaga id vah syāma* TS MŚ The latter is secondary but intelligible, §641

sarvasmād devakīlīgāt (LŚ *eva ki*, VS *devakīlv*) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ *vīśvasmād deva* AV MS The LŚ is secondary but sensible, §402

[*āindrāsūrāh* (KSA *āindrāsaurāh*) *syetalalāmās* (KSA *† śyāmala*) *tūparāh* TS KSA Conc quotes KSA as *āindrāh saurāh*]

[*anyavratasya* (TA *anyadva*, printed by Conc as *anyad vra*, the accent proves that it is a cpd, tho the comm seems to take it as two words) *saścīma* (RV *saścīre*, TA *sascīmah*, Poona ed *ma*) RV VS MS ŚB TA]

§819 In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original

svāhā yajñam manasah (KS 2 3 *yajñāmanasah*) VS MS KS †2 3 and

23 5, ŚB ApŚ KŚ MŚ A verb like *ā rabhe* is understood, the accus *yajñam* is necessary to the sense, and KS 2 3 should be so corrected In 23 5 KS has correctly *yajñam ma°* (not noted in Conc) '(I take) sacrifice from mind'

māgadhaḥ punścaliḥ kṛtawāḥ klībo 'tūdrā abrahmanās (VSK *punścaliḥ klīwāḥ kṛtavo 'tūdrābrahmanās*) *te prajāpatyāḥ* VS VSK

śatākṣaraś chandasānruṣṭubhena ApŚ *śatākṣarachandasā jāgalena* Kauś In Kauś v 1 *śatākṣarah* The original reading of ApŚ (cf §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayam sruvo* preceding, with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*

dahram (v 1 *daharam*) *vipāpma-varaveśmabhūtam* (MahānU *vipāpma-varam veśma°*) TA MahānU The Poona ed of TA reads *vipāpma-vara°*, with v 1 *vipāpma-vara°* MahānU also has v 1 *varaveśma°* The most plausible original seems to be *dahram vipāpma-varaveśmabhūtam* This is stylistically better than *vipāpma-vara°*, an awkward compound

dadhad ratnam (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣam pitrbhya* (AŚ ŚŚ *dakṣapit°*) *āyuni* (AV *āyūṇi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless AV is original The edition of AŚ separates *dakṣa* from *pi°*, evidently regarding it as a voc *indrah pāsena tṣiktvā vah* (HG *pāsena vah tṣiktvā*) ApMB HG *indra-pāsena sṭvā* PG See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG *aślonā* (AV com. *aśro°*) *aṅgair* (TA *nāṅgair*) *ahrutāḥ* (TA *ahrūtā*, Poona ed *ahrutāḥ*, v 1 *°tā*) *svargē* AV TA 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs' AVPPP agrees with TA, but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in PPP, meter indicates that the other version is original

rudra yat te krayi (VS KS *krivi*, VSK *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS MS ŚB *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47

yasya (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* (ŚG *patireto*) *grhāna* (ŚG *grbhāya*) ŚG ApMB HG *patireto* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one

śad id yamā (TA *śad udyamā*) *tṣayo devajā uḥ* RV AV TA N Apparently TA must understand *udyamā* as an adjective

3 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820 In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form, sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word.

vr̥ṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ *vr̥ṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtam svarīdam* MS KS ApŚ

The original of MS KS means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rain-sky, heaven-finding', the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ by a lect fac the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhī* KŚ 'Away the dream-faced pains' 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances)' But KŚ may intend a compound.

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB *indrah sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā* AŚ Comm on TB takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as noms sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a devatā dvandva, object of *janayan*. The whole verse is pretty low bathos. AŚ has a lect fac.

bhuvanam asī sahasrapoṣaṇuḥ (ApŚ *sahasrapoṣaṇa puṣa*) MS ApŚ 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity' 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity' Verb form introduced secondarily, cf. next.

agne tvāmkāmayā (SV *tvām kāmāye*) *girā* RV SV VS The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect fac SV introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next. '(O) Agni, I desire thee with song'.

revati predhā, *revati yajamāne priyam dhā*, *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhānsata*, see §747.

āre satrūn (AV † *āreśatrum*) *kṛnuhi sarvavīrah* (AV °*ram*) AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV, doubtless original 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect fac. The AV comm stumbles over the form and understands two words.

ugrapaśyā (MS *ugram paśyāc*, TB *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rāṣṭrabhīc ca tāni* MS TB TA *ugrapaśye ugrajitau tad adya* AV. In this and the next MS is hopelessly corrupt, note accents.

ugrapaśye (MS *ugrām paśyéd*) *rāṣṭrabhīr kilbiṣāni* AV MS TA Cf. prec.

āsanniṣūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām apṣavāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd *āsann-iṣūn* 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV means 'carrying water in their mouths'.

mama padyāya vi rāja ApMB *mayi dohah padyāya virājah* (MG adds *kalpalām*) AG HG MG *mayi padyāya virājo dohah* ŚŚ ŚG PG The original is *virājah*, gen. of *virāj*

[*subhāgamkaraṇī mama* AV *subhāgam karanam mama* SMB But Jørgensen properly prints SMB *subhāgamkaranam*, as one word]

§821 In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original

sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi SV JB *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS In the latter nom. of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS) The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives

pari ghraṇṣam omanā (TB *parighraṇsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N Hopeless corruption in TB See §828

agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam AŚ ApŚ *agnihotram pṛthivīm antarikṣam* MS The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding *pāda* *ukhām sravanīm agadām akarma*

pari doṣād udarpiṭhah KŚ *pariṭoṣāt tad arpiṭha* ApŚ See §63

mā rudrīyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ See §§209, 260, MS has a gross corruption

sahasradhāram vṛṣabham divo duhuh (SV *divoduham*) RV SV Verb form in RV 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked' SV 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'

uror ā no (VS ŚB LŚ *pururāvno*) *deva rṣas pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ See §371a

4 Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822 In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'), or the reverse The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841–850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater, there is no hard and fast line between them

§823 Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question

apsarasāṇu anu dallām ṛnāni (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām anudallāṇṛnāni* MS (p p *anu, dallāni, ṛnāni*) Either the plur *ṛnāni*, or the sing *ṛnam* with the pronoun *nah*, is quite satisfactory

vratāni (MS TB ApŚ *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB ApŚ ŚŚ ŚG *adābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG In MS etc the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*, in the other the alternative form *vratāni* is used
mā mā yūnarvā hāsīl (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms incomprehensible

§824 In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word Here may be mentioned RV 4 20 9b (also in KS, where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛnoti muhu kā cid ṛṣvāh*, read *muhukā* with Ludwig and Conc, cf Oldenberg, *Nolen* ad loc

jāmum (KS *†camī*) *mā hīṣīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB ApŚ MŚ *mā jāmum moṣīr amuyā sayānām* AV Acc to AV comm the darbha-grass used in strewing the *vedi* is addressed, *amuyā* is adverbial The MŚ variant makes *śayānā* refer to *jāmum*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the *uttaravedi*, so that in general sense it agrees

gaurīr (AV *gaur in*, TB TA *gaurī*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV AV TB AA TA N

dhruvāsah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG

stavāno (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhīyā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuk*) MŚ Altho the MŚ reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect fac TA accents wrongly *vṛdhā'nah*, and its comm takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāh*)! Cf §821

yo rayīva (SV *rayīm vo*) *rayīntamah* RV SV KB ŚŚ ŚG VHDh Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayīm* as accus of specification

ṛṣīnām putro abhiśastipāvā (TB *°pā ayam*, AV *°pā u*) AV VS ŚB TB See §740

bhavā kṛṣṇīnām (AV *gr°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG See prec

abhūr grṣṇīnām (ApMB *āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*, AV mss **v āpīnām*, em wrongly *vaśānām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV HG ApMB See prec but one

ya usriyā apyā (SV *api yā*) *antar āsmanah* (SV °*ni*) RV SV See §785
 SV misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters'
achāyam eti (KS °*yam yanti*) *śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtā cit*, KS *ghṛtācīh*)
 AV VS TS MS KS The AV reading looks secondary to that
 of KS, which has an adjective agreeing with *śrucah*, the subject of
yanti, *ghṛtā* can only be construed as an accus of goal after *eti*,
 whose subject is Agni

divasā cid antād (RV *antān*) *upamām* (RV °*mān*, TA *upa mām*, so AV
 v 1 adopted by Whitney, and comm) *ud ānaṣ* RV SV AV TA
 While RV is of course original, the AV TA reading is not bad
 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me' This
 should doubtless be read in SV

te brahmalokeṣu (TA °*loke tu*) *parāntakāle* TA MahānU MundU
 KaivU

viprasya dhārayā kamh RV *viprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV See §189
somah sutasya madhvah RV *somah sutah sa madhumān* SV See §189
na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG *śvetas cābhyaṅāre*, others all *śvetasyā-*)
 AG PG ApMB HG MG Secondary but intelligible reading in
 AG, see §188

ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryas ca* VS ŚB *aya(h)sthūnam*
 (°*nāv*) *uditā* (°*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS See §188

ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman RV KS *urvīm gavyāni pariśadam*
 no akran AV

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV AV MG
sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah*
karah karasyuh LŚ See §739

apa snehitīr (SV *snihitīm*) *nṛmanā adhalla* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS *†nṛma-*
nām adadhrām) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām athadrām*
 (Poona ed varies) TA

saṃ takṣā hanti cakrī vah (HG *cakrīnah*) ApMB HG Very obscure
 passage, HG seems to approach closer to a sensible reading

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (°*nāv*, °*nā*) *adhī rohu vanśa* (MG *vanśah*)
 AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā*
iva', yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte ava* In any
 case MG is secondary

svarvaj (AV *svar yaj*) *jyotir abhayam evastī* RV AV
grāmyamañikīradāśakau ApŚ *grāmyam mañgīradāśakau* MS *vyāgh-*
ram mañgīradāśa gauh Vait See §49

§826 In verbal endings (cf §827)

evastī rāye maruto dadhātana (MG *dadhātu nah*) RV KS AB MG
 See VV I p 281

pra su (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artim*)
yuyotana (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG

viśvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā PrānāgU *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca*

MU Read *viśantu*, see §371

kṛiyanta (TB *priyā ta*, so divide) *ā barhiḥ sīda* RV AV KS TB
davyā (AV *°vā*) *hotāro* (TS *°rā*, AV *°rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanī°*, KS
†vanuṣan na, AV *sanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *elat*) RV AV TS KS
vasūni cārur (*cārye*, *cāryo*, *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsī* (SMB *bhṛjāsī*, HG *bhajā sa*)
jīvan AV SMB ApMB HG Cf VV I p 96

jātavedo nayā hy (read *nayāsy?*) *enam suktām yatra lokah* JB *jātavedo*
vahemam (ŚŚ *vahasvarnam*) *suktām* TA ŚŚ

§326 In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older, a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change

samudrena (and *°dre na*) *sindhavo yādamānāh* RV (both) Read
samudre na in both, Bloomfield, JAOS 27 77 ff, RVRep 197,
 Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 36 7

tvīṣm indre na (MS *indrena*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Bathos in either
 case, but MS p p *indre, na* VS comm says that *na* means *ca*!
spardhante dhīyah (*dhvāh*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA *† sūryena*)
viśah RV SV TS KSA Change to instr in TS KSA because this
 is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*

neva mānse na pīvasī AV *nawa mānsena pīvarī* PG *na mānseṣu na*
snāvasu ApMB Perhaps PG should be divided *mūnse na*, at
 least this is the original reading

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samṛṣṭāsu*
yulsv indro ganeṣu MS 'This Indra the joiner of battle' 'Indra
 in the joined battles'

trīni padāni (*padā*) *nihitā guhāśya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA
 MahānU Pronoun *asya* replaced by loc ending *-su*

māteva putram bībhṛtā sv (VS ŚB *°tāpsv*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to waters, hence the secondary
 reading *apsu*

idam aham rakṣo °bhī (MS **rakṣobhīh*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam dahāmi*)
 TS MS (bis) KS MŚ See §383

āvat tam (TA Conc *prāvaritam*, comm and Poona ed text *āvartam*)
indrah śacyā dhamantam RV AV SV KS TA The sole ms of KS
 also reads *āvartam* (ed emends) TA comm interprets as a gerund
 (*āvṛtya*)

samud dīśām āśayā nah (MS *āśāyānah*) *svarvāt* (TS *suvar°*) TS MS

- KS AŚ ApŚ Both accent and sense show that no pres mid pple (masc) can be intended, altho MS p p does not divide the word
- yajā no (MS *yājāno*) devo (TB AŚ ApŚ *devān*) *ajarah suwīrah* MS TB AŚ ApŚ *bhava no dūto ajarah suwīrah* ŚŚ ŚG Again (cf prec) the accent shows that MS p p is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable
- vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayah RV vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayah SV Benfey renders SV 'devoured' (root aś 'eat', middle pple in passive sense) It is a Verballhornung, the orig itself is rather obscure, vi-naś is peculiarly used
- yato bhayam abhayam tan (KS 35 1c *ṭabhayatvam*) no astu (AV ed ant, misprint) AV KS * TB ApŚ MŚ
- imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyam me (TB *kṣatriyānām*) AV TB Kauś viṣṇūvaruṇā (TB °nāv) abhiśastipāvā (TB °pā vām) MS TB Followed by devā yajanta haviṣā ghr̥tena 'O V and V, let the 'gods' (TB comm *ṭwījah*) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc The variant form must be dual, and as MS can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem °pōva, or irregularly from °pāvan), we assume that TB is orig
- bṛhaspataye (MŚ °pate) mahiṣa (TS *mahi śad*) dyuman namah AV TS MŚ Comm on AV agrees with TS, which has the correct reading see §392
- dātum cec chakṣān sa svarga eva AV dātum cec chakṣuṇvānsah (so, with double accent, Calc ed) svarga eṣām TA For the latter read *chakṣuṇvān* (or better °vān) sá with Poona ed, see VV I p 165
- purasātāt (AB *puras tvā*) sarve kurmahe AB ŚŚ See §365
- sumatrah soma no (Kauś *sumano*) bhava RV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ Kauś
- stomo yajñas ca (TB *yajñasya*) rādhyo haviṣmatā (TB °lah) RV TB See §188
- arepasah (ApŚ adds *samokasah*) cite goh (SV *citā goh*, ApŚ *cidākoh*) SV AV ApŚ MŚ See §47
- turaś cid viśvam ṭarṇavat lapasvān AV duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV
- tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it RV tvām arbhasya haviṣah samānam it SV KS TB ApŚ
- anupūrvam yalamānā yati śtha (AV *stha*, TA *yatiṣṭha*) RV AV TA See §86
- agne vitatam antar ā (LŚ *antaram*) RV VS MS KS TB LŚ VHDh Assimilation in I Ś to *vitatam*

ā no yāhi (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (MS *jāmaṣva*, ŚŚ *janeṣv ā*) MS AB AŚ ŚŚ The accent proves MS wrong, it seems to presuppose *janeṣv ā*

yad uttaradrāv uparāś ca khādatah AV ' *yad ṭapsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādatah* KS ApŚ In AV complementary sing after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ 43 110 ff) See VV I p 270 f

§827 Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf §825) *śrucā juhuta no* (ŚŚ *juhutanā*) *havih* TB ŚŚ ApŚ *tiḡmāyudhāya bharatā śnotu nah* (TB *śnotana*) RV TB N Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB

yathayam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram agham rudriyāya* MG See §801

āprno 'si samprnah (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samprna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter inferior

ramadhvam mā bibhīta mat (Kauś *bibhīta*) AV Kauś

pratno hi (TA *pratnoṣi*) *kam idyo adhwareṣu* RV AV TA See §299

5 First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828 Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary

śūro nṛṣātā śavasas (SV MS *śra*) *cakānah* (SV *ca ṣkāme*) RV SV TS MS Assimilation in SV to the preceding loc *nṛṣātā* 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'

vasavaś cātīṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca AV *vasuś cetīṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS TS MS KS The bad meter and feeble sense of AV show that it is a corruption of the other, moreover Ppp agrees with the other texts (Barret, JAOS 42 108)

śukrām vayanty asurāya nṛnṛyam RV *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nṛnṛje* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura' *nadayor vṛratayoh śūra indrah* RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV seem to be Indra's horses, lect fac in SV

asūrte (MS KS *'tā*) *sūrte rajaso nṛṣatle* (MS *'tā*, KS *na sātā*) RV VS MS KS N *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vīmāne* TS Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle, it is of course secondary

aryo naśanta (SV *nah santu*) *sanṛṣanta* (SV † *'tu*) *no dhṛiyah* RV SV

Again a lect fac in SV (*santu* taken with preceding, 'devoured be our foes')

ūrjam bibhrad vasuvanāh (VS LŚ ŚG ApŚ **vah sumanāh*, ApŚ **vah suvanāh*, ApŚ **vasumanāh*) *sumedhāh* AV VS KS LŚ ApŚ (thrice) ŚG HG See §227

aiḷabṛdā (MS **mṛdā*, KS *andamṛdā*) *yavyudhah* (VS *āyuryudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS KS See §241

pari ghrāṇsam omanā (TB *parighraṇsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N The original 'he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength' Corruption in TB

dame-dame vṛṣṭutya (TS **ṭir*, MS **ṭi*, AŚ ŚŚ **ṭir*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV **ṇau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām vṛānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ See §236

amanmahid anāśavah (PB **kūt tad āśavah*) RV AV PB
brāhmanebhyo 'bhyanyātātā (MahānU *hy anu*) TA MahānU
tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV

tilvilā (misprinted *tilvalā*) *stām irāvatīm* AG *tilvilā sthājirāvatī* ŚG
tilvalā sthīrāvatī MG *tilvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB A desperate passage, all forms corrupt Oldenberg (on ŚG, p 144) suggests something like *sthāvarāvatī* for the original In ApMB a mistaken rationalization, a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address

[*pra yah satrācā* (TB Conc *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB **tan*) RV TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *satrācā*]

§229 In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original
adyā mamāra sa hyah samāna (MS *sahyah samānah*, p p *sah*, *hyah*, *sam*, *āna*) RV AV SV MS TA N The MS makes no sense, and its p p gives the true reading

yas tā vjānāt (TA * MahānU *yas tad veda*, AV * VS *yas tān veda*) *sa pītuh* (VS MahānU *pītuh*, TA *santuh*) *pītāsat* RV AV VS TA MahānU N See §198

sa dahan (GB *sadanān*) *pradahan nv* (GB *v*) *agāh* GB Vait One ms of Vait has the same absurd reading as GB

sā prasūt (ŚG *suprasūt*) *dhenukā* (HG **gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB HG *garbhe* (MS **bhah*) *sañ* (VS ŚB *san*, KS MS *sam*) *jāyase punah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB But it is likely that MS KS really intend *san* (so MS p p)

sa eva jātah (TA MahānU *sa vjāyamānah*) *sa janīṣyamānah* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚrāsU

svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (SV *udā*) RV SV See §60

agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (TB **yam vāriṣanyah*) RV MS TB AŚ See §225

- tan mā jñva* TS MS *tan mārjtvā* KS See §354 KS probably secondary
- amum ma iṣāna*, and, *sarvalokam ma iṣāna* VS *amum maṇiṣāna*, and *sarvam maṇiṣāna* TA The form *iṣāna* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchatu* 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)', 'every world' TA has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna*'), as if from the aorist of root *man*, comm *prayaccha*
- ā samudrā* (KS *ā sīm ugrā*, TS ApŚ *āsmann ugrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS seems clearly secondary
- apām na yanly* (SV *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayah* RV SV 'Like streams of water go (the somas)' '(the somas) lead on the waters'
- upākṛtam śasamānam yad asthāt* (MŚ *sadhasthāt*, v 1 *sad asthāt*) AV TS MŚ MŚ If *sadhasthāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtam*
- pariṣītah kṣeṣyasi* ApMB *pariṣīdah kṣeṣyasi* HG The true reading is *kva iṣyasi*, or more properly *eṣyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *lṣ* (thinking of *lṣ*)

6 Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§830 Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa, often with further changes We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original

- tad vipro abravīd udak* (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ See §65
- ava* (RV *abhi*, MS *ā vah* [text *vah* preceded by *hanīṣā*], VS ŚB *vācū*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛsāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
- sanvan* (KŚ *sa tvam*) *sanim suvinucā vimuñca* KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The secondary KŚ reading may be graphic
- yamasya dūtah śvapād vidhāvasi* TA *yamasya dūtas ca vāg vidhāvati* MS See §145
- satyam* (SV ApŚ *sa tvam*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV SV ApŚ
- irām u ha* (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ ŚG
- pra na* (SV *na*) *vido mahe tane* (SV *tu nah*) RV SV
- samyak* (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam it*, KS * *sarit*) *śravanti sarito*

(TAA Conc °*ū*, Poona ed text and comm °*lo*) *na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS * ŚB TAA KS ApŚ * MŚ The second reading of KS, *sarī*, tho given by all mss, is evidently a mistake for *sam ū*, which is secondary to *samyak*

nyañ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °*tim*) RV AV KS *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā śarīman*) VS TS MS *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt, but *sa im* (*i*) looks like a secondary lect fac for some single word (as in AV KS)

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original

idam ta ekam para ū ta (TB ApŚ, but not KS, *uta*) *ekam* RV AV SV KS † TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Comm on TB *uta, apī ca*, but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta ekam*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (*le*)

sa tū (SV *sato*) *dhanam kārīne na pra yañsat* RV SV 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer' 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer' The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV

kavir yah putrah sa im ā (TA Conc *sā imāh*, Poona ed text and comm *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV AV TA N Comm on TA *imā, etāni dṛṣya-mānāni sarvāni bhūtāni*

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ

ā yam (MS MŚ *āyan*) *narah sudānawo dadāṣuḥ* RV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ The corruption of MS is indicated by the fact that the verb *acucyavuh* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent

ku ṣṭhah ko vām āśvānā SV *kūṣṭho devāv āśvānā* RV It is universally recognized that RV must be read *kū ṣṭho*

utem (SV *ūtim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS *uta-im ūtim*, 'aid' *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV *ā tvā* (AV *emām*, ŚG *enam*) *parisrutah* (AG °*śritah*, MG °*ṣṭah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB *ṭkumbhāh*, ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV AG ŚG PG ApMB MG

tve ā (SV *tvayā*) *bhūṣanth vedhasah* RV SV Note resolution of *e* to *ay* *svahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV *svarpatim yad im vṛdhe* RV AV

sarvah sarvā vi caratu prajānan MS *sa vah sarvāh sam caratī prajānan* AV The MS *p p sah, sarvāh*, in the samhitā text stupid assimilation to the following word

yatrāspṛkṣat tanwo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV
ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvam yatra vāsah* HG Probably *yac ca*
of AV is original and *yatra* due to assimilation to the preceding
yatrā

[*ā tvam* (GB *ātman*, but Gaastra correctly *ā tvam*, LŚ *ā svam*) *indrāya*
pyāyasva VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ]

[name *tad upadambhīṣar* MS MŚ *na ma idam upadambhīṣag*
ApŚ We must read *nā me* in MS MŚ, there is no p p here, and
nāme is simply bad editing]

[*vi gā indra vicaran spāśayasva* TA ApŚ In TA text printed *vīgā*,
but both syllables accented, clearly *vi gā(h)* is intended, so comm.]

7 Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa

§832 We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more
than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more
shorter words, or vice versa. Excluded are divisions of compounds into
parts, which have been treated above. First come cases in which the
longer word is original

balim icchanto vitudasya (AG *vi tu tasya*, v l *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (Ma-
hānU AG *preṣṭhāh*) TAA MahānU AG See §65

upanasah śaparyan RV upo nu sa saparyan SV Indra is meant,
SV has obvious earmarks of secondariness

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N
As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv.) is broken
up into a series of harmless particles in SV

na me (so read, §831) *tad upadambhīṣar* MS MŚ *na ma idam*
upadambhīṣag (once erroneously *udam bhīṣag*) ApŚ A simple
and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint

nā (AG MG ā) *vā prāpann aghāyavah* (MG *adyāyavah*) AG ŚG
ApMB MG See §868

akṣanām vagnum (AV cm *ganam*, true reading probably *gatnum* with
SPP, see Whitney's note, MS *ṭvagnum*) *upajighnamānah* (AV
upalīpsamānāh, MS *avajighram āpah*) AV MS TB TA The
MS is corrupt, its p p, yet worse *akṣnā*, *avagmam ity ava-gmam*,
avajighram ity ava-jighram, *āpah*. But the original is obscure
enough

visvā amivāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih (KS *ṛṣebhiyah*) AV KS *visvā*
āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah VS TS *vy amivāh pramuñcan*
mānuṣānām MS Evidently VS TS are secondary, tho inter-
pretable, cf §783

yasya te nīvamānuṣah (SV *nīvam ānuṣak*) RV AV SV It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV reading distorted in SV into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret See Benfey's note in Translation, p 259

anvādīdyāthām iha nah sakhāyā TB TA *manmā dīdhyānā utā nah sakhāyā* MS The latter seems clearly corrupt, p p *dīdhyānām*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuna)'

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA The AV comm, followed by SPP and Whitney's Transl, reads *pradhāvati*, correctly

tvam no devatāṭaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV See §61

prathamāya januṣe bhūmaneshhāh (AV *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ *bhūma neṣthāh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ If ŚŚ intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world' Obscure

yajñah pratyasṣhāt (v 1 *praty u ṣṣhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṣhāt* (v 1 *pratyasṣhāt*) MŚ *yajña pratīṣṣtha* TB ApS

apāmityam (AŚ *apām utham*) wa *sambhara* MS KS AŚ A graphic error in AŚ

ubhe yatete ubhayasya (AV *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV AV Cf next

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājatah* RV AV In same verse as prec, here Whitney adopts the RV reading See §911

§833 Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary

ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadīnām* AV *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original, in TS AV there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied The double *t* is suspicious (cf §401), BR take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS AV) Keith rejects the comm and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition MS p p *avattaram*

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīrīr (SV *prāntarikṣāl sthāvīris te*) *aṣṭkṣata* RV SV *pra dhārā yantu madhunah* AB *pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya* AG (corrupt, abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading)

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh *dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadrāṣṭā* HG The BDh reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG, which is typical stylistically —The next two variants are in the same passage

antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā BDh *antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upadrāṣṭā* HG As prec

prthivīsamantasya te 'gnur upadrasṭā BDh *prthivī samā tasyāgnur upadrasṭā* HG. See prec two

sutarasi tarase (MahānU *sutarasiddhatarase*) *namah* RVKh TA MahānU The latter has a *v* 1 like the others, but its com̄m reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler *Sutarasi* is voc sing fem, and *tarase* an infinitive

ṣīte vāte punann wa (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait, most mss of ŚŚ, and *v* 1 of KSA *punarnwa*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ Doubtless a graphic corruption, but its wide spread is curious
antarā dyāvāprthivī apah suvah TB ApMB HG *antarā dyāvāprthivyor apasyuh* MG Is *apasyuh* understood as *apa-syuh*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom-sing of *apasyu* In any case it is secondary

anupauhvaḍ anupahvayet HG *anu po 'hvaḍ anuhvayah* ApMB See §732

yajñapataye (ŚŚ adds *vasu*, TA *yajamānūya*) *vāryam ā svas kah* (TA *ā svas kar asma*, ŚŚ *āsamskarase*) MS TA ŚŚ The latter secondary

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh AV *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāh* AB AŚ The AV is probably original See §254

ayam sahasram ānavo dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotiḥ vidharma (ApŚ °mā) SV ApŚ MŚ *ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe vidharmanī* AV Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV reading *saahasramānavo* as one compound word, against the accents 'der tausendbewachende' Probably AV is original, tho it too is not very sensible

agnir hotrenedam (*hotrena*, *agnihotrenedam*) *havir*, see §354

vande dārum vandamāno vivakmī RV *vandadvārā vandamānā vivasṭu* SV On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p 218

8 Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834 Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant They fall into three subdivisions Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another, sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835 We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older, we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case

avakrakṣīnam vṛṣabham yathājuram (SV *yathā juvam*) RV AV SV
ajuram 'ageless', *juvam* 'swift'

na māṁsam asī nodalam (HG *no dalam*) ApMB HG If the division is so intended, HG must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'. The comm on ApMB (Winternitz, Introduction, p xxiv) takes *nóddlam* for *ná-udáram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'

ya ājagna (N **muh*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Conc suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-īmā*) for AV, and Whitney notes that the AV text (p p *sávane, mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'

samīdhyamānāh prathamānu ṛdharmā (TB ApŚ *prathamō nu dharmah*) RV TB ApŚ The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā dharmā* (neut plur) of RV 'According to ancient ordinances' 'as the very first law'

prasthāyendragṇibhyām somam vocatopo (KB *vocatō yo*) *asmān brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇā hwayadhvam* KB AŚ ŚŚ As Keith says in his Transl, KB must be read *vocatopo*. A graphic corruption

jihvā pavitrām āśvīnāsan (TB **nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS MS KS TB The original, of which TB is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *āsan* 'in his mouth'

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS GB Vait ApŚ *viśloka viśvadārye tvā samjuhomī svāhā* MŚ Precisely like the prec, except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible

gāva updvātāvataṁ (SV *upa vadāva(e)*) RV SV See §60

yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV
ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG The latter corrupt,
see §198

rdhag (RV AV *dhruvam*) *ayā* (AV *ayo*, TS MS KS *ayād*) *rdhag*
(RV AV *dhruvam*) *utāśamaṣṭhāh* (MS KS °ṣṭa, AV *utā śaṣṭha*)
RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N See §234

yat tvemahe (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV
TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB Original has *tvā-imahe*
SMB comm alternatively takes *mahe* as a verb, *pūjyāmi*, or as a
noun, *utsave*, supplying *pūjādīkam karma* with *yat* All mss agree
on it

āsum tvājau (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhure devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ
harīśmaśrum na varmanā dhanarcim SV *harīśmaśrum nārvaṇam*
dhanarcam RV

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samārṣk* (KS *paramo na*
samārṣk) RV VS TS MS KS N Graphic change in KS, §871
hotā viṣṭīmena (ŚŚ *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV AŚ ŚŚ Vait See §367

tenemām upa sūcatam RV AV TA N *tena mām abhiṣūcatam* ŚŚ
SMB Different contexts, *mām* or *mām*

tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam AV *tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam*
(MS °yā mām) TS MS KS *mām* or *mām*

puteva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma enam*) MS KS ApMB HG
The corruption of MS is indicated by its p p *jarasena*, ā, *mām*,
pointing to the other reading

yaded (KS *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛāh*) *pūṛve* RV VS TS MS
KS

yenākṣā (SMB °kṣān, PG °kṣyāv, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ
SMB *abhyāṣīcatam*, PG °tām) AV ŚŚ SMB PG For the
original 'dice' ŚŚ lamely substitutes 'earth'

[*tvayāvasena* (ŚG text *tvayā vasena*) *sam aśimahu tvā* TS KS TB AŚ
MŚ Kauś ŚG SMB PG The ŚG seems to be a misprint]

§836 We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original
reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words,
the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary

yadārāghatī (read *yadā rā*°) *varadah* Vait *yadā rākhātīyau vadatah*
ApŚ *yad adyārādhyam vadantah* MŚ See §70

praty eva (ŚŚ *pra tveva*, i e *tvā-iva*) *grbhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ °śunā) KS ApŚ

But KS ed prints the ApŚ reading, with v l °vādīd
śrutakakṣo aram (SV °kakṣāram) *gave* RV. SV Nom voc

~~svām~~ *svām dhruvāṁ jupāṇo manasā* AV *vīhi svādhāhutīm jupāṇāḥ* TS TB

The ritualistic exclamation *svāhā* is always allowable, but is here secondary

māsvasmai bhūtāyādāhvaro (KS MŚ *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS 'dhvaro 's) TS KS ApŚ MŚ *adhvara dhruva*, it is not certain that the latter is more original

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonāḥ MS *mā nah param adharam mā rajo 'nāḥ* (MŚ †*param adhanam mā rajo nāḥ*) TA MŚ The MS is corrupt, and its p p is worse *mā, anal, ā, unāḥ*! Cf VV I p 93

ā māsīgo (or *ām āsīgo*, so MS understands) *dohakāmāḥ* MS KS *emā agmann āsīgo dohakāmāḥ* TS ApŚ It is possible that KS, also intends *ām* (interjection) *āsīgo* It seems that TS ApŚ (*ā-imās*) have a lect fac

[*ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam* (GB *ātmanātmānam*, but Gastra as the others) *me mā hīnāḥ* GB Vait Kauś]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

§837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another This process may be illustrated within the RV itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as *agner avena marutām na bhogyaḥ*, I 128 5b Here we must surely read *agne ravena*, see Conc and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* I 127 This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, *Noten*, has some slight doubts Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for *nṛbhir yad yukto vive rapāṇsi*, RV I 69 8, we must read *viver apāṇsi*, and for *muzāyās cakram avive rapāṇsi*, RV 6 31 3, *aviver apāṇsi* Also in AV 6 116 1a, *yad yāmam cakrur nikhānanto agre*, read probably *yady āmam*, see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 428, *SBE* 42 457, and Whitney *ad loc* *āsann ā* (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS 'tu) *devāḥ* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB

madhu relo (TS *madhor ato*, KS †*madhur ato*, AŚ text printed *madhu-relo*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS MS KS AŚ Keith on TS thinks the KS reading is correct He calls the MS 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula, *madhu* and *relo* might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object But the MS p p reads *madhuh, amlah*, pointing towards the KS reading

revatī ramadhvam, revatīr amedhyam, see §255

ā mūhṣo (MS text ām āhṣo) dohakāmāh MS. KS. And others, see §836 MS and KS may intend the same reading

agor arir ā ciketa RV nāgo rayir ā ciketa SV Benfey understands na-ago(s), from agu 'nicht preisend' = 'bos' Doubtful, the SV is hardly interpretable

ubhayor ārtṇyor (TS ārtṇyor, NīlarU ubhayo rājñor) jyām VS TS MS KS NīlarU An absurd corruption in the last, it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm calmly takes it satyād ā (ApŚ satyā tā) dharmanas patī (ŚŚ dharmanā, and so mss of MŚ, Vait MŚ pari, ŚŚ omits patī) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ purovāto varṣaṇ jṇvar dṛpt svāhā TS ApŚ purovāta (KS 'to) jṇva rāvaṭ (KS 'pat) svāhā MS KS And other formulas in same passage, see §168 TS is secondary

yam āśvinnā namūcer āsurād adhī (ŚŚ īnamucāv āsure dadhī) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ Followed by sarasvaty asunod indriyāya Some verb, probably a form of su, is understood 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait entnahmen) from the asuric N' ŚŚ is secondary and poor, dadhī 'sour milk' conceals adhī, to which is affixed the d of the abl which preceded in the original form For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15 144-63

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

§838 In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in śatāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona ed of both 'thā gha) viṣā pari no vṇaktu TB TA śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārnah MS (corrupt) pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA pītābhā syāt tanūpamā MahānU In MahānU a v l agrees with TA but for anūp, but the comm keeps to the text as printed He explains pītābhā by pītavarṇā, and tanūpamā by sūkṣmenopamāyale kuṇḍalinīlī yām naigamā āhuh The TA makes pītā bhāsvatī = pītavarṇā, and anūpamā is explained by laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavitum yogyā

acikradat svapā iha bhuvat AV adidyutāt sv apāko vibhāvā RV MS Whitney says the AV has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading Ppp bhavat for bhuvat (§602)

deva purāścara saḥgyāsam (MS devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam) tvā MS TA ApŚ The MS is corrupt p p deva, punar it punah, carase See §817

divṣas taradhyā (ApŚ °yā) *ṛṇayā na ṛyase* (SV *ṛrase*) RV SV KS A
ApŚ *divṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV 'A simple corruptic
(Whitney) in AV

ṛṣayartena mām ula (TA *ula*) TB TA *ṛṣāya tv énam ā'mūlah* M
(p p *lū, enam, mā'm, ullām ma*, in part pointing to the TB reading
MS is corrupt, in TB supply *muñcata* from preceding pāda
graha viśvajantīna nyāntar viprāyāma te (MS p p *viprāya, 'mate, K*
nyāntar vipra ā ṛsatī) MS KS

§839 In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locative ending

made suṣipram (SV *madeṣu ṣipram*) andhasah RV SV

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (Mi
"sā *starīman*, TS *mandrāsu prayasah*) VS TS MS *stanī mandri*
suprayakṣuh KS

mandūky apsu sam bhuvah AV *mandūkyā su sam ṛgamah* (TA *gamayc*
RV TA The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to
the secondary reading of AV

§840 The rest hardly need classification

yās te soma prajāvat ā *bhī so aham* MahānU *yās te soma prajā vata*
'bhī so aham TA Both are obscure, and the far-fetched inter
pretations of the comms give little help For instance, the TA
comm explains *soma* as *sa + uma*, from *umā = brahmanvīdyā*
so that *soma = paramātman*'

viśvakarman bhavāna mām didāsītha (ŚB *manda āsītha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ
didāsītha is taken as a desiderative from *dā* 'O V Bh, thou didst
seek to give me (the earth) away' ' thou wast slow of wit (so
comm, *mandamatih*)' Either meaning is possible

bhrātāntarikṣam abhīśastya nah (TA *abhīśasta enah*) AV TA Comm
on TA *yad eno 'smābhīh kṛtam tad abhīśastah satrusthānīyam*
It would be better to understand *abhīśaste*, 'upon the accursed one
(may) the sun (light)' Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV
samudrād udajāni vah (ApŚ *udacann va*) *srucā* MS ApŚ The ApŚ
reading seems better

yā samjayanām adhi yāsu vardhase KS *āśum jayanām anu yāsu*
vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB

mānasya patni śaranā syonā AV *mā nah sapatnah saronah syonā*
HG See §189

jyēṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anīke SV *jyēṣṭhasya vā dharmam kṣor*
anīke RV The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for
dyukṣayor, from *dyukṣa*

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā*
kṣarānī (PG *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svārākṣānah*, most mss *svārā-*
rākṣānah) *svāhā* AG PG MG The original is probably AG,
 see §742 PG has a simple lect fac, MG is corrupt

yena bhūyāś ca rātryām (ApMB *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG
bhūriś carā divam) AG PG ApMB MG See §61
sarasvatyaṁ vāco yantur yantrīye (VSK *vāco yan turye turyamī*) *dadhāmī*
 VS VSK ŚB Corruption in VSK

āyuhpati rathamtaram (MŚ *āyuh pratiratham*°) *tad aśīya* ApŚ MŚ
 Caland would read °*patī* (nom) in ApŚ, and observes that MŚ is
 yet more corrupt

ud vansom wa yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham wa menire*
 Mbh

kratvā varistham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*
 uta SV

ruvādhokṣā (TB *nṛvādhryo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhir evaśh* RV MS AB
 KB TB See §684

prathamachad (KS *parama*°) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa*
 RV VS TS MS KS Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen depend-
 ing on *vara* (vare) The result is close to nonsense

ā devo yāti bhuvanāni pasyan (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV VS TS
 MS

tena samhanu kṛnmasi AV *tena sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG See §47

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS °*mad ābharan*) VS MS TB Either
 makes good sense

ahorātre ūrvaśṭive (VS °*ṣṭhīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *bṛhadrathamtare*
ca me yajñena kalpetām (VS *†kalpantām*) VS TS MS Cf §803,
 TS secondary

pumānsam vardhatām mayi ŚG *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG *pumān*
garbhas tavodare SMB See §97 Despite the Conc, ŚG is quite
 correct, and may well be the original reading

jānum itvā mā vritse lokān TA *jānum itvā māva patse lokāt* AV See
 §198

hiranyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*)
mahyam KS ApŚ

ulem anamnamuh (KB ŚB ŚŚ KS *uteva nam*°) TS MS AB KB ŚB
 AŚ ŚŚ KS ApŚ MŚ

athem ava sya vara ā prthivyāh TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *athemam asyā vara ā*
prthivyāh AV See §236

ulānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah (TB *vicāyah*) RV MS TB N See §254

dn̥ṣas taradhyā (ApŚ [°]yaṛ) *ṛṇayā na iyase* (SV *irase*) RV SV KS AB
ApŚ *dn̥ṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV 'A simple corruption'
(Whitney) in AV

ṛtas̥yartena mām uta (TA *ita*) TB TA *ṛtāsya tv enam ā'mūtah* MS
(p p *tū, enam, mā'n, utām ma*, in part pointing to the TB reading)
MS is corrupt, in TB supply *muñcata* from preceding *pāda*
graha viśvajantīna nyantār viprāyāma te (MS p p *viprāya, 'mate*, KS
nyantār vipra ā ṛsatī) MS KS

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made suśipram (SV *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasah* RV SV
tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (MS
[°]*sā starīman*, TS *mandrāsu prayasah*) VS TS MS *stanī mandras*
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mandūky apsu sam bhuvah AV *mandūkyā su sam ṛgamah* (TA *gamaya*)
RV TA 'The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to
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samudrād udaganī vah (ApŚ *udacann va*) *srucā* MS ApŚ The ApŚ
reading seems better

yā samjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase KS *āsum jayantam anu yāsu*
vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB

mānasya patni saranā syonā AV *mā nah sapatnah saranah syonā*
HG See §189

jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anīke SV *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmanī kṣor*
anīke RV The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for
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- brahmādhiguptah* (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā*
kṣarān (PG *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svārākṣānah*, most mss *svārā-*
rakṣānah) *svāhā* AG PG MG The original is probably AG,
 see §742 PG has a simple lect fac, MG is corrupt
- yena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG
bhūriś carā divam) AG PG ApMB MG See §61
- sarasvatyaī vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi*
 VS VSK ŚB Corruption in VSK
- āyuhpati rathamtaram* (MŚ *āyuh pratiratham*°) *tad aśīya* ApŚ MŚ
 Caland would read °*pati* (nom) in ApŚ, and observes that MŚ is
 yet more corrupt
- ud vanśam va yemure* RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham va menire*
 Mbh
- kralvā varizṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV AV *kralve vare sthemany āmurim*
 uta SV
- ruvad dhokṣā* (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaśh* RV MS AB
 KB TB See §684
- prathamachad* (KS *parama*°) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa*
 RV VS TS MS KS Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen depend-
 ing on *vara* (*vare*) The result is close to nonsense
- ā devo yāti bhuvanām paśyan* (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV VS TS
 MS
- tena samhanu kṛnmasi* AV *tena sann anugrhnāsi* HG See §47
- pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS °*mad ābharan*) VS MS TB Either
 makes good sense
- ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive* (VS °*ṣṭhāve*, TS *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *bṛhadrathamtare*
ca me yajñena kalpetām (VS *ṣkalpantām*) VS TS MS Cf §803,
 TS secondary
- pumānsam vardhatām mayi* ŚG *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG *pumān*
garbhas tavodare SMB See §97 Despite the Conc, ŚG is quite
 correct, and may well be the original reading
- jāmam itvā mā vritse lokān* TA *jāmum itvā māva patsi lokāt* AV See
 §198
- hiranyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*)
mahyam KS ApŚ
- utem anamnamuh* (KB ŚB ŚŚ KŚ *uteva nam*°) TS MS AB KB ŚB
 AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- athem ava sya vara ā prthivyāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *athemam asyā vara ā*
prthivyāh AV See §236
- utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah* (TB *vicāyah*) RV MS TB N See §254

amūdhā yadī jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cid ā*)
RV SV

pra su (HG *so*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artim*)
yuyotana (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG The last is
secondary

yaśasendrābhraspālī (ArS *yaśo mendrā*) ArS PG MG Graphic
change

dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoh (AV *°tikah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS
KS ŚB See §189

dhīyā martah śasamate (SV *martasya śamatah*) RV SV See §189

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG *rīṣat*, most mss *rīṣak*) PG MG *yaśo*
bhagasya vindatu ArS See §189

yunajmī tistro viprcāh sūryasya te (MŚ *nvrtah sūryah save, or savah*)
TS ApŚ MŚ See §189

pragāyāmasy agratah PG ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG †*pra-*
jāyāmasy agratah HG *asya* in MG is to be taken in a cosmic sense,
it is of course secondary

yamaśya loke adhiraṣṣur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nūdhir ajarāya*) AV
MS TA Whitney describes the MS as a 'corrupt guess'

māyādevā avataran HG *adevā devavattaram* ApMB See §401

ā gharṇo agnīm ṛṇayann asādī (TA *asādīl*) RV TA *ā gharṇo agnir*
amṛto na sādī MS The latter is of course secondary

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV KS ApŚ
aihā syāta surabhayo grheṣu MS The ApŚ is worthless, Caland
tacitly adopts the other reading

[*iṣur nāvīrastārām* ŚŚ *iṣum na vīro astā* AV RWh by emendation,
but mss as ŚŚ except for *iṣum*]

[*pālam mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś text *aghān nah*) TS ApŚ Kauś
Read *adyāhnaḥ* in Kauś, cf. critical note, p. 295, n. 4 of ed. In the
reading quoted for ms Bu *hna* should be read for *dna*]

9 Patch-words

§841 In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822–31,
we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a
shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of
variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte,
Luckenbüsser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to
apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is
insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two
groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter.

§842 For instance, in a pāda like
syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛṇu tvam*) RV
 AV SMB ApMB MG N,

it is clear that AV has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *tvam*. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *tvam* and *-sva*. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

ni no raṇm subhajasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV VS TS MS KS,
 where TS likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *īha*. And in a pāda like

āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (MG *te sadā*) MG YDh,
 it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā*, rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te*. If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG, the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same.

§843 Prevailing these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word.

agnim (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV SV. In RV *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p. 51). The SV has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*.

viṣe viṣam aprkthāh (*aprāg api*) AV (both). The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original.

yatah sūrya udeti AV *yataś codeti sūryah* ŚB BṛhU KaṭhaU 14.9a
āśūn hve suyamān ūtaye TS MS KS *āśūn va suyamān ahva ūtaye*

AV. Here the longer form of AV may be original, at least it is better not only metrically but in sense.

§844 There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word.

tasmar no (AV *mā*) *devāh paridatteha* (AV PG °*dhatteha*, KS MŚ °*dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ *visve*) AV TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh
Even the KS MŚ form, lacking *īha*, is not really good in meter.

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter

śatena pāśair varunābhī dhehī KS *śatena pāśair abhī dhehī varunarnam*
AV The reading of Ppp (Barret, JAOS 37 298) is that of KS, and this is doubtless original

tam aham punar ādade KŚ PG *imam tam punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham, as Kiste suggests) HG

tas mā u rādhaḥ kṛnuta praśastam (AV *kṛnuhī supraśastam*) RV AV
The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV Anukramanī and omitted in Ppp (Barret, JAOS 41 266)

§846. Once SV omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV, thereby spoiling the meter, the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sulāsah* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ime* leaves is too short
tubhyam somāh sutā ime RV *tubhyam sulāsah somāh SV*

§847 Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following

anumate 'nu idam manyasva AV *anumate 'nu* (KapS *ṭanu*) *manyasva na idam* KS Cf *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG KhG HG ApG

apām napātām aśvinā huve dhīyā (TS *ṭhayantam*) AV TS The mss of AV read *aśvinā* (accented) and *dhīyah* Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss, but both are metrically correct See Whitney's and Keith's notes

§848 In the next AV by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV, and to save the meter omits the light word *u*

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV Kauś *sa id dhotā*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB See §996

§849 In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary, they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group

imam (AV **lam u*) *me agadam kṛta* (AV *kṛdhi*) RV AV * VS TS
anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ
tam manyeta (ViDh *tam var manyet*) *pīlaram mālaram ca Samhitopani-*
śadB VāDh ViDh

asmān (AV *sā nah*) *śīte payasābhyāvaṛtsva* AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB

upa yajñam asthita (MŚ *astu no*) *varikvadevi* RVKh AV ApŚ MŚ
apasedhan (SV † °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV *no mṛda*) RV SV
 See VV I §194 In RV *r* in *mṛdaya* is long, in SV it was pro-
 nounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to
 improve the meter

marutām pitas tad aham grṇāmi (MS *grṇe te*) TS MS *marutām pitar*
uta tad grṇmah KS

tasya doham aśimahi (KS *aśiya*, AŚ *aśiya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB
 TA AŚ ŚŚ In KS prose.

twaṣṭā sudatro (TA *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyah* RV VS MS KS ŚB TA
 ŚŚ N

sa nah pito madhumān ā vṛseha (Kauś *viveśa*) KS Kauś *sa no mayobhūh*
pīlav (TS TB *pīto*, MŚ *pītur*, SMB Jorgensen *pīlav*) *āvr̥śasva*
 (AŚ *āvr̥śeha*, MŚ *āvr̥śesa*) TS TB AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG

aṅgīrohīr ā gahi yajñīyebhīh RV TS MS *aṅgīrohīr yajñīyair*
āgahīha AV

dadhad ratnāni (RV once *ratnā vi*) *dāśuṣe* RV (thrice) SV VS TS MS
 KS TB *dhattam ratnāni dāśuṣe* RV *dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vāry-*
āni RV VS

tvīṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu AV *tvīṣir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB The
 Ppp agrees with TB (Barret, JAOS 30 204)

anāgā devāh śakuno gr̥heṣu (AV *gr̥ham nah*) RV AV MG The Ppp
 according to Roth agrees with RV, and the AV text makes poor
 sense as Whitney observes

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau vīśvavedāh* TS KS PG

ahnā yad enah kṛtam asti pāpam (AŚ *asti kīmcit*, ŚŚ *enaś cakṛmeha*
kīmcit) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB

edam barhīr nī śīdata (AŚ ŚŚ *śīda nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Change
 of context in AŚ ŚŚ requires a singular verb, and the pāda is
 neatly patched with *nah*

devebhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG *havyā*) *vahatu* (TB * AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ
vaha nah, Kauś **vaha*) *prajānan* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TB * AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś * MG In one form Kauś is
 unmetrical, lacking *nah*

pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS *amṛtam nu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*)
vidvān AV VS TA MahānU

vīryebhīr (MS *vīrebhīr*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°,
 Poona ed *śam*°) AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

punantu vīśvā bhūtāni (MS *bhūtā mā*) AV VS MS KS Is the MS.
 reading a reminiscence of *vīśve devāh punīta mā*, which is the RV
 form of this pāda?

śatam pavitrā vitatā hy (MS *vitatāny*) *āsu* MS ApŚ ApMB Undoubtedly MS is original, form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others *hwayāmi* (AV SV TS MS *huve nu*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV AV SV MS VS TS KS MahānU

apriye (AV **apriyah*) *prati muñcatām* (Kauś † **tam*, AV **muñca tat*) AV (bis) Kauś

sarvāñ agnīñr (AV *śivāñ agnīñ*) *apruṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*, AV *havāmahe*) AV TS MS TB See VV I p 253.

§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word seems to be the older are

ṛṣīndm ca stulīr (SV *suṣṭulīr*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS

agnim indram (TB *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB *vām*, MS **hanam huvema*) AV MS TB

yā antarikṣyā (TB ApŚ **kṣa*) *uta pāṛthivāsah* (TB ApŚ AG *pāṛthivīr yāh*) KS AG TB ApŚ Since the adjectives are feminine (agreeing with *āpah*), the KS form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62), but it may nevertheless be the original

yā akrntann awayan yā atanvata (AV *yāś ca tatnīre*) AV SMB PG ApMB HG *yā akrntan yā atanvan* MG Discussed in VV I §§46, 218

jarām gachāsi (PG *gacha*, AV *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV PG ApMB HG Only the relative antiquity of AV favors greater originality of its reading, and perhaps this is not conclusive

CHAPTER XIX RIME WORDS

§851 A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants, the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound, that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852 We begin with the roots *jinu* and *pinu*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the Samhitās, both verbs are found in all texts that have both pādas, but the two are exchanged in different texts.

mano me jinva (MS KS *pinva*, Vait *mano jinva*) VS TS MS KS Vait

Followed by

vācam me pinva (MS KS ŚŚ *jinva*) VS TS MS KS ŚŚ

tad indrāgnī jinvatam (MS † *pinvatām*) *sūnṛtāvat* TB ApŚ MŚ

jinva (AŚ † *pinvam*, read *pinva*) *gā jinvārvatah* TB ApŚ AŚ Cf.

pinvatam gā jinvatam arvato nah RV KS

§853. Other verb forms are

ūrjā pṛthivīm gachata (MS *yachata*) TS MS KS TB

paramam padam ava bhāti (VS ŚB *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS *bhūreh*) RV VS

TS MS KS ŚB N The comm on VS calmly says *avabhāri*

avabhāti, *takārassthāne chāndaso rephah*¹ BR derive from root *bhr*,

as aor pass 'wurde eingedruckt', which is at least possible

trikadrakebhīh palati (AV *pavate*) RV AV KS TA ApŚ Cf Hil-

lebrandt, *Ved Myth*¹ I 500

pratilāmūti (AŚ °*nūti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmūti*) *te pitā* VS TS MS

KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Derived by the comms from roots *lū*

and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise

śam bāhubhyām dhamatī (AV *bharatī*, TS TA *namatī*, KS *namate*, MS °*bhyām adhamatī*) *śam patatrahī* (KS *yajatrahī*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU *śam-dham* and *śam-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together' Note also the noun forms *patatra yajatra* (graphic change)

asadan (TS *asanan*) *mālarām purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms. 'has seated himself' 'has reached'

yābhyām svar ajanann (TB *suvar ajayann*) *agra eva* MS TB MŚ *yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva* AV 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning'

śam grāvabhīr nasate (SV *vasate*) *vīte adhware* RV SV Both 'unite with', SV lect fac (*śam-nas* was obsolete)

rasena śam asṛkṣmahī (RV *agasmahī*, KS LŚ *aganmahī*, AV JB *aprkṣmahī*) RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB *śam-ṣṛj* and *śam-pṛc* practically synonyms Cf *śam-pṛc* and *śam-sṛṣ*, §375

aṅgād-aṅgād sambhavasī (SMB **samśravasī*) ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB * GG ApMB HG MG N Mahābh In SMB a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arisest' The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts In both cases some mss of SMB have the alternative reading

pra ketunā bṛhatā yāty (AV TA *bhāty*) *agnih* RV AV SV TA 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam' Perhaps graphic?

śocasva (VS * *rocasva*) *devavītamah* (KS °*vittamah*) RV RVKh VS * TS MS KS TA Synonyms

tataś (RV *ataś*, KS *lutra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV °*the*, MS KS *cakrāthe*) *aditīm dītim* ca RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Root *cakṣ* perfect of *kr*

adhī skanda vīrayasva AV *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG Quasi-synonyms AVPPP also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *skanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach)

mā chetthā (v 1 *bhetthā*) *mā vyathuṣṭhāh* KBU

[*varṣmā rathasya nī jīhīṣate* (ŚŚ *jīhīlate*) *divah* AV ŚŚ So RWh, but the mss of AV read *jīhīdate*, which should be kept]

§354 Riming participles occur in the following

pratyag enam śapathā yantu tṛṣṭāh (AV *sṛṣṭāh*) RV AV Comm and one ms of AV *tṛṣṭāh*, for which *sṛṣṭāh* may be called a lect fac 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'

yā dabhrāḥ parisasruṣṭh ŚG yā tārdroḥnāḥ parī tasthuṣṭh ApMB
 Pples of roots *sru* and *sthā*

āyurdā deva (AV *agne*) *jarasam vṛnānah* (ApMB ApG HG *grn*°)
 AV MS KS MŚ ApMB ApG HG *āyurdā* (VS ŚB, *āyruṣmān*)
agne haviṣo juṣānah (VS ŚB ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS ŚB
 TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG The ApMB etc readings are an interesting
 blend of those which contain *vṛnānah* and *juṣānah* Perhaps
grnānah was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring',
 even this would be none too sensible in the context Oldenberg
 adopts *vṛnānah* for HG Still a different version ('thriving by the
 oblation') is adopted in VS etc, this is an easy lect fac in a
 passage relating to Agni

ā sutrāvne (MS KS *bhūyisṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛnānah* AV MS KS
oṣisṭhadāvne sumatim grnānāh TS 'Choosing to myself (praising)
 his kindness'

§855 Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman nāman*
 stands out In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are
 easily interchangeable, the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both
 mean its mystic essence In some cases the change from one to the
 other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in

yat te 'nādhṛṣṭam nāma yajñīyam (KS *nāmānādhṛṣyam*, MS *dhāmānā-*
dhṛṣyam) *tena tvādadhe* VS TS MS KS ŚB The change in MS
 was suggested by *ādadhe*

śadam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada tāsīda (VSK *priyena nāma priye*
sadasī sīda) VS VSK ŚB Also

priyena dhāmnā (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda*
 (VSK TS TB ApŚ * *priye sadasī sīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB
 KŚ ApŚ In this and the prec (which are variants of each other)
 only the VS texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose
 that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym
 of *sadas*

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidmā te dhāma*, Ppp *gandharvo nāma*) *paramam*
guhā yat RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB *gandharvo dhāma*
paramam guhā yat (VS *vibhṛtam guhā sat*) AV VS *gandharvo*
nāma nihīlam guhāsu TA MahānU Here two different pādas
 have become confused, one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*,
 the other with *gandharvo dhāma* The AV Ppp reading (not in
 Conc) occurs in the verse where AV has *vidmā te dhāma*

puruṣṭasya dhāmabhiḥ (MS *nā*°) RV AV MS Vait

§856. Twice the RV phrase *pratnena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'

is changed in SV to *pratnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)', much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB follows SV
aḥam pratnena manmanā (SV *jan*°) RV SV AV
agrah pratnena manmanā (SV TB *jan*°) RV SV MS. KS AB TB
 AŚ MŚ

§857. Other nouns and adjectives

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS TB *vyantu*)
vayah TS MS KS * TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo 'ktam*
rihāṇāh VS. A very obscure passage, the isolated *artham* may possibly be due to graphic confusion

śarīram me vicakṣanam (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU *pratīkam*
me vicakṣanam PG. 'My body (face) be active (glorious)' Schef-
 telowitz on RVKh reads *vicakṣana*, but it seems that 'nam must be
 the true reading

paktā (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA. The latter is called 'ludicrous'
 by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p. 204, he takes it as a
 masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu
 werden'; cf. Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p. 171

kuhūm aham (AV Vait *kuhūm devīm*) *surptam* (AV MS KS *sukptam*,
 TS *subhagām*) *vidmanāpasam* AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N. Quasi-
 synonyms

dyumnā sukṣatra manhaya RV *dyumnam sudatra manhaya* SV
dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam*
pārayiṣṇu AV *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutāś cyāvayīṣṇuh* AV. The evi-
 dently secondary *cyāv*° is suggested by 'cyutāś 'unshaken (but)
 shaking (others)'

aślono 'piśācadhīrah ApMB *anandho 'ślono 'piśācadhīrah* HG. The
 latter is a strange corruption, the original means 'not sucked by
 demons'

adroghavācam matibhīh śaviṣṭham (RV * °*bhir yavi*°) RV * AV. See
 RVRep 275 f

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS
devakṛtam yaviṣṭhya) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB. Quasi-
 synonyms

nagnahur dhīras (KS *vīras*) *tasaram na vema* VS MS KS TB
 Synonyms

pāhi no agna enase (ŚG *edhase*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU ŚG *edhase* is
 certainly right 'protect us unto prosperity'. TA comm. quotes
 the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase*. The corruption
 is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah* or the like is

- associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'aim'
- punar brahmāno* (AV *brahmā*) *varunītha* (AV °*nītur*, KS °*dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38 12b], MS °*dhīte*) *yajñāsh* (AV MS KS *°*agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The form with *n* is apparently original, in MS KS it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti* *kuvin no asya sumater navīyasī* (SV. *bhavīyasī*) RV SV 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'
- sthīrā cin namayisṣavah* RV *dṛdhā cid yamayisṣavah* SV Practically synonyms, 'bending' 'subduing'
- āndhrī kham varṭayā paṇim* (SV *pavim*) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it, cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten* ad loc) It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent
- tās tvā vrsantu manasā svena* (TB *mahasā svena*) AV TB The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots Cf next
- ut satvanām māmakānām manānsi* (TS *mahānsi*) RV SV VS TS Cf prec
- dvīṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG *pāpam*) SMB ApMB HG The two words are near-synonyms, *pāśam* is clearly original
- upa śreṣṭhā na āśvāḥ* (MS *āśvrah*) AV TS. MS KS
- panasīyavah saṅhasāneṣu* (SV °*varaneṣu*) *akramuḥ* RV SV Quasi-synonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'
- asya* (AŚ *mama*) *snruṣā śvaśurasya praśiṣṭim* (AŚ *praviṣṭau*) TB AŚ Complete change of meaning as well as syntax
- svādhā tvā sūryasya* (MŚ *vātūya sūr*) *vṛṣṭivanaye* (MS ° *sanaye*) MS TA ApŚ

is changed in SV to *prātṇena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)', much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB follows SV *aham prātṇena manmanā* (SV. *jan*ⁿ) RV SV AV *agnāḥ prātṇena manmanā* (SV TB *jan*ⁿ) RV SV MS KS AB TB AŚ MŚ

§857. Other nouns and adjectives

aktam (MS MŚ *apṭubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS TB *vyantu*) *vayah* TS MS KS * TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo 'ktam* *rihāṇāḥ* VS. A very obscure passage; the isolated *artham* may possibly be due to graphic confusion

śarīram me vicarṣanam (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU *pratīkam me vicakṣanam* PG. 'My body (face) be active (glorious)' Scheftelowitz on RVKh reads *vicakṣana*, but it seems that *'nam* must be the true reading

paktā (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA. The latter is called 'ludicrous' by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p. 204, he takes it as a masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu werden', cf. Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p. 171

kuhūm aham (AV Vait *kuhūm devīm*) *svrītam* (AV MS KS *suktam*, TS *subhagām*) *vidmanāpasam* AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N. Quasi-synonyms

dyumṇā sukṣatra manhaya RV *dyumnam sudatra manhaya* SV *dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu* RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyulas cyāwayiṣnuh* AV. The evidently secondary *cyāu*ⁿ is suggested by *'cyulaś* 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)'

aślono 'piśācadhīrah ApMB *anandho 'ślono 'piśācadhīrah* HG. The latter is a strange corruption, the original means 'not sucked by demons'

adrogḥavācam matibhiḥ śaviṣṭham (RV * *'bhīr yavī*ⁿ) RV * AV. See RVRep 275 f

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB. Quasi-synonyms

nagnahur dhīras (KS *vīras*) *tasaram na vema* VS MS KS TB. Synonyms

pāhi no agna enase (ŚG *edhase*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU ŚG *edhase* is certainly right 'protect us unto prosperity'. TA comm. quotes the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase*. The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah* or the like is

associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV ^o*nītur*, KS ^o*dhītam* and [†]*nītha* [so 38 12b], MS. ^o*dhīte*) *yagnāh* (AV MS KS ^{*}*agne*) AV VS, TS MS KS ŚB The form with *n* is apparently original, in MS KS it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti* *kṣam no asya sumatir navīyasī* (SV. *bhaviyasī*) RV SV 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'

sthīrā cin namayīṣṇavaḥ RV *drdhā cid yamayīṣṇavaḥ* SV Practically synonyms, 'bending' 'subduing'

añdhī kham vartayā paṇim (SV *paṇim*) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read *paṇim* in RV The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it, cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten ad loc*) It is easy to see how *paṇim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent

tās tvā vīśantu manasā śvena (TB *mahasā śvena*) AV TB The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots Cf next

ut satvanām māmakanām manānsi (TS *mahānsi*) RV SV VS TS Cf prec

dviṣadbhīyah prati muñcāmi pāśam (HG *pāpam*) SMB ApMB HG

The two words are near-synonyms, *pāśam* is clearly original

upa śreṣṭhā na āśīyah (MS *āśīrah*) AV TS MS KS

panasyuvah saṁvasaneṣu (SV ^o*varaneṣu*) *akramuh* RV SV Quasi-synonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'

asya (AŚ *mama*) *snusā śvaśurasya praviṣṭim* (AŚ *praviṣṭau*) TB AŚ

Complete change of meaning as well as syntax

svāhā tvā sūryasya (MS. *vātīya sūr*) *vr̥ṣṭivanaye* (MS ^o *sanaye*)

MS TA ApŚ

CHAPTER XX GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858 There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *th* and *dh*, *t* and *ṭh*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion, it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

§859 The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r*. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *v*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

n and *r*

§860 The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861 We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants

indhāna enam jarate (MS KS *janate*, but MS *p p jarate*, KS *v l jarate*) *svādhih* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB N One ms of KS reads *jarite*, and the *p p* of MS *jarate*, this is clearly the proper reading

mṛttike hana (MahānU *hara*) *me pāpam* TA MahānU Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hr* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away')

asadan (TS *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB

avimuktacakra (v l °rā) *āsiran* PG *vṛttacakrā āśināh* HG ApMB *tarī mandrāṣu prayakṣu* AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS Others, §830

tanūr varṣeṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā MS *mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām* SV *nirṛtho* (MS °to) *yaś ca nīvanah* (AV °rah) AV MS TA *naḡaḡalīti dhārakā* VS ŚB *na jaḡgulīti* (KS † *jaḡgalīti*, mss, , em °līti) *dhānkā* TS KSA

deva puraścara saḡhyāsam (MS *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam*, *p p deva*, *punar iti punah*, *carase*, etc) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ MŚ The text of MS is corrupt in both readings

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonah MS *mā nah param adharam* (MŚ *param adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naih* (MŚ *naih*) TA MŚ Two cases, *adhanam* *adharam*, and *mā rajo mānado-* (corrupt)

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhur evaḥ* RV MS AB KB TB But *r* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*, §684

§862. Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants, note one case in RV itself

viśvāny anyo (RV *KS *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV (both) MS KS TB

In different contexts

balivardāya (KSA °*vandāya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Apparently *balivardāya* is intended

alivardāya (KSA *alivandāya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Follows the prece *gaurīr* (TB TA *gaurī*, AV *gaur in*) *mūḡāya salilāni takṣatī* RV AV TB AA TA N

vidyur (ApMB *vidyun*) *me asya devāḥ* RV AV KS ApMB See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, xxiv *vidyun* is doubtless a corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*, it is read by all mss and confirmed by the comm, who says that *i* for *visarga* is *chāndasa*¹ *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form

śīte vāte punann wa (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait, most mss of ŚŚ, and v l. of KSA *punarnwa*) VS TS MS KSA. ŚB TB, AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ

The persistence in the mss of the impossible *punarnwa* is striking
ni nīvartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB
 See §273

adyā tvā vanvan (KS *vardhan*) *surekṇāḥ* RV KS TB

ukhām śrauantīm agadām aganma (MŚ *akarma*) KŚ MŚ

anārbhava mṛda KS ApŚ The ms of KS reads *anārbhava*, em v Schroeder, see p w 5, Nachtrage Cf *anābho mṛda dhūrte* (read *dhūrta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ See §749

§863. As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agn* and *agra* A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV 10 18 7d, *ā rohantu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneh* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire' In the Vedic occurrences of this pāda, which is found also in AV and TA, there is no authority for this change There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne* It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agn* secondary The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion

§864 The list is as follows, the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantam (PB *abhisam*^o) TS PB TB PG ApMB *dhvāntā vātā agnum* (mss of both *vātāgnim*) *abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ MG Clearly *agnim* is secondary.

agre vikṣu pradādayat RV *agne vikṣu pratidāyat* TB (Poona ed *agre* without v l, but comm *he agne*)

tubhyam agre (MG *agne*) *pary avahan* RV AV PG ApMB MG

agre (MŚ *KS *MŚ *agne*) *brharm upasām ūrdhuo aśhāt* RV. VS TS MŚ *KS *ŚB ApŚ, and Pratikas AŚ ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Rvdh BrhD

tenenam agra (TB *agna*) *iha varcasā tśamañgdhi* KS TB Here, by exception, *agna* (= *agne*) may be the original reading, one accented ms of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended

tavāham nāma bibharāny agne (AŚ *agre*) TS AŚ *tavāham agne bibharāni nāma* MŚ Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading

[*agre* (TB *agne*, but Poona ed text and comm *agre*) *yajñasya śocatah* (KS TB *cetatah*) RV KS TB]

[*agne* (AV. *agre*) *samudham āhārṣam* AV Kauś *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed, which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation]

§865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following

akṣānām vagnum (MS *tvagnum*) *upajyghnamānah* (MS *avajyghram āpah*) MS TB TA The MS is certainly wrong TB comm *upahatam kurvan*

girā ca (AV *virājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharā asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Whitney on AV adopts *śnuṣṭih* with most mss, Ppp *śnuṣṭas* See §57

ūrdhvacatah (MS KS *śritah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS *† śna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Doubtless corruption, if not misprint, see §195

c and v

§866 Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-crt* and *vi-vrt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-crt*, 'unloose', also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *śac* and *śan* The others are sporadic

agnim hotāram antarā vicrttāh AŚ *hotāram agnim antarā vicrttāh* ApŚ 'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicrttāh* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect fac It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'

ṛtasya tantum vlatam vvirtya (VS *vicrtya*, AV *dṛṣe kam*) AV VS TA MahānU The true reading is probably *vicrtya* So Poona ed of TB text and comm, tho with v 1 *vvirtya*, comm gloss *guruśāstramukhān nīścrtya*, which looks as if he had read *vvirtya* and taken it from *vi-vr* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

- case MahānU reads *vr̥ṭya* without recorded variant, comm gloss *vr̥ṭi sandīpena sandīpya*, which is obscure to us
- [*v* *pāsam madhyamam cṛta* (TB and MŚ v 1 *vṛta*) RV KS TB MŚ So Conc, seemingly erroneously, MŚ has *cṛta* without recorded variant, and Poona ed of TB likewise *cṛta* text and comm with no v 1]
- śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam* (ApŚ *śaviṣṭhā vṛajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB ApŚ
- [*vīryebhar* (MS *vīrebhar*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°) AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ But Poona ed of TB *śaviṣṭhā* in text and comm without v 1]
- [*devānām devatamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°) MS TB Again Poona ed of TB *śavi*° without v 1]
- viciti* (or *vr̥ṭi*) *svāhā* MahānU *vr̥ṣṭiyai svāhā* TA TAA There is also a v 1 *vr̥ṣṭi* in MahānU The word is meaningless Comm *vr̥ṣṭi*, which he does not explain, he quotes also a v 1 *vr̥ḍhyā* Poona ed of both TA and TAA *vr̥ṣṭiyai*, explained by comm as for *vr̥ṣṭiyai* by Vedic license
- vakratundāya* (TAA *cakra*°) *dhīmahi* TA TAA † MahānU
- eam arvanto raghudruvāh* (VSK °*drucāh*) RV SV VS VSK MS Meaningless corruption in VSK
- ghṛtāpratīkam va* (TB *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB *dhūrṣ*°, Poona ed *dhūrṣ*°) RV TB ApŚ The sandhi shows that TB is secondary and poor
- yatra cābhīmṛṣāmasi* (HG *vābhi*°) ApMB HG

p and y

- §867 A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group
- indrāpāsya* (two mss *indrāyāsya*) *phaliḡam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya* (corrupt, Kirste suggests *indra āyāsya*) *sepham alīkam* HG
- hr̥iyai śalyakah* (VS *śalpakah*) VS MS The *p* is a false reading, VS comm *śvāvit*
- bṛhaspataye śtputah* (KSA † *śmyutah*) TS KSA An otherwise unknown word, said to be a kind of cat
- prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somam vocatopo* (KB *vocato yo*) *asmān* KB AŚ, ŚŚ Read in KB as the others (Keith)
- śam bāhubhyām dhamatī* (etc, §853) *śam palatrar̥h* (KS *yajatrār̥h*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU
- prapunvanta upa spr̥ṣata prapunvadbhya svāhā* ApMB *prayunvanta upaspr̥ṣata prayunvadbhyah svāhā* HG Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable

susasyāh (VSK °pāh) *kr̥ṣṭa kr̥dh* VS VSK ŚB KŚ *kr̥ṣṭar twā susas-*
yāyaz (KS *ṣṣumanasyāyaz*, bis) TS KS ApŚ With the VSK
reading cf. *śaṣpa*

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB The mss of both
texts vary between *lp* and *ly*

anadvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ If MŚ is correct
(it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption
tvam hī rādhaspata (text °yata, wrongly) *eka īkṣe* ŚŚ

ubhe ca no (etc) *anhasah* (°sas) *pātām* (TB Conc *syātām*, Poona ed
anhasah spātām, AŚ text *janhasa syātām*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
The true reading can only be *anhasah* (or °sas) *pātām*

[*tanūpā* (TB °yā, Poona ed °pā) *bhṛṣajā sute* VS MS KS TB]

[*vahṣṭhebhīr viharan yāsi* (TB Conc *pāh*, comm and Poona ed text
yāsi) *tantum* RV TB KS AŚ ApŚ]

[*tvaṣṭā turīpo* (TB *turīyo*, Poona ed text and comm °po) *adbhutaḥ* VS
MS KS TB]

[*āpataye* (GB *āyā*°, Gaastra *āpa*°) *twā gr̥hṇām* VSK TS MS GB
Vait ApŚ MŚ]

[*varuneti śapāmahe* (MS † °hai, LŚ *ṣṣayāmahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Probably a double misprint in LŚ]

[*viśvalohasta uta viśvalaspāt* (TA °tah *syāt*, but Poona ed correctly
°taspāt) TS MS KS TA]

gh and *dy*

§868 The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent
mā (AG MG *ā*) *twā prāpann aghāyavah* (MG *adyāyavah*) AG ŚG
ApMB MG The correct reading is *mā aghāyavah* 'Let not
the malicious ones reach thee' It is strange that apparently all
mss of AG MG read *ā* at the beginning, preceded by *anuvāra*
at the end of the preceding pāda (Stenzler assumes *mā*) The
further corruption in MG seems an attempt to patch up a bad
job, it implies *adya-āyavah* 'may lives today reach thee'
magham (MS, but not KS †, *madyam*) *indrāya jabhrīre* VS MS KS TB
'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra' Indra's well-known bibulous
habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS, involving the
misreading of *gh* as *dy* Cf next

sa bibheda balam (VS and Poona ed TB *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*)
VS MS KS TB Cf prec

śatāpāṣṭhādya viṣā (read with Poona ed of both °ṣṭhā *gha viṣā*) *pari*
no vṛnaktu TB TA . *śarā vāṣṭād dhavṣā vārnah* MS (Poona ed of

- TB records *v* l. 'dya, and comm *v* l. adya) The MS is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *dh* for *gh*, cf §875, see also §838
- pātam mā dyāvāprthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś *aghān nah*, read *adyāhnaḥ*) TS ApŚ Kauś See §840
- [*kevalāgho* (TB *kevalādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm 'lāgho) *bhavati kevalādi* RV TB N Gloss in TB comm *pāpam eva sampādāyati na tu kimcid api punyam*]
- [*sa ghā* (TB *sadyā*, read with Poona ed. text and comm *sa ghā*) *no devah savitā sahāvā* (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ]
- [*yad vā ghā* (TA *vādya*, but Poona ed. *vā ghā*, and comm *vā gha*) *satyam vā yan na vidma* RV TS MS KS TA There is a *v* l. *vādya* in TA Poona ed., but gloss in comm (*yad eva kimcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*]

d and *v*

§869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *diś* and *viś*, both stems always appear in the plural number, cf Wackernagel II 1 p 48, foot These are of course rime words In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *viś* There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*

devānām patnīr (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *diśah* (MS KSA †*viśah*) VS TS MS KSA The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes' This is the only case of original *diś*, and even it is perhaps not certain

ye vā nūnam svarjanāsu vikṣu (AV *dikṣu*) RV AV A *v* l. *vikṣu* occurs in AV, and so Ppp reads

śakvad viśah (TB *diśah*) *savitur davyasya* RV TB The change in TB was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanānu* in the next pāda

viśām (TB *diśām*) *patir abhavat vājriṇvān* MS TB Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *viśām*.

viśo (SV *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Agni is meant.

hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS *varunam*) *vikṣu* (RV *apṣu*, MS *dikṣu*) *agnim* RV VS † TS † MS KS ŚB †

apa durhārddiśo jahu Kauś (read *durhārdvīśo*, Conc)

ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhūh (TS TA ApMB *kuṣmeṇa*, MS *dhāmnā*, KS *vr̥ṣṭyā*, PG *dr̥ṣṭyā*) VSK TS MS KS TA AŚ PG ApMB

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramola samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samṛk*) RV VS TS KS MS N *samṛk* perhaps 'seizer', certainly inferior

avasphūrjan vidyud (TS *didyud*) *varṣan* . TS MS KS

bhūmir itvābhupramanvale janāh AV *yām tvā jano bhūmir itvā praman-*
date VS MS KS ŚB The latter secondary and poor, Mahidhara,
stauhi, which the verb can hardly mean

s and m

§870 Here the variants are quite miscellaneous

kr̥ṣṇai tvā susasyāyai (KS *ṣumanasyāyai*, bis) TS KS ApŚ Others,
see §867 The original is clearly *susasyāyai*

agne yān devān ayād tān sasanuṣim (KS *ms tān samanoṣītr*, ed *em samanaṣītr*) *hotrām* MS KS TB The corrupt *ms* reading of
KS seems to point towards the reading of MS TB, rather than
towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be
replaced by the other version

pr̥kṣasya (ArS *prak^a*) *vṛṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS *mahaḥ*) RV ArS
AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh Synonyms

athā jivah (KS *adhā viṣṭah*, VS ŚB *athaitam*, AV *adomadam*) *pitum*
(AV *annam*) *addhi prasūtah* (TS MS KS *pramuktah*) AV VS TS
MS KS ŚB

graha viśvajanīna nyantar viprāyāma te (MS *p p viprāya*, *mate*, KS
nyantar vipra ā ṣati) MS KS

yaśasendrābrhaspatī (ArS *yaśo mendrā^a*) ArS PG MG

mā brāhmanasya (3c *sā br^a*) *rājanya* AV 5 18 1c, 3c In the Berlin ed
mā is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc
But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic
error

mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (SV *paniṣṭama*) RV AV SV VS
mahāns te mahato mahimā AV The related words in the context
have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*

vahāsi mā (KS *ṭvahānsi sā*) *suktām yatra lokāh* (KS *lokaḥ*) KS TB
Certainly KS is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the
juhū

tvasṭā devaṛiḥ sahasāma indrah MG *tvasṭar devebhīḥ sahasāma indra*
ApMB

nīlāgalasālā AV *nīlagalamālāh śivah paśya* NīlarU See §512 Some
copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU, thinking of *nīla-gala*
and *mālā*

t and n

§871 The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters Our list may be incomplete

sa tvam (ŚŚ ApŚ *sanvan*) *sanum svnmucā vimuñca* KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ See §830

tan mā jñva (KS *mārgitvā*) TS MS KS See §§354, 829

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramotā samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samdṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS N See §835

yad ejati jagati yac ca cestati nāmno (MahānU *nānyo*, v 1 *mānyo*) *bhūgo yan* (TAA Poona ed 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*, v 1 *yan nāmne*) *svdhā* TAA MahānU

upa stuhī (Poona ed *snuhī*) *tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA (Other forms, see §110) The mss of the comm vary between *stuhī* and *snuhī*, gloss *bhūmau prastāvaya*, pointing to *snuhī*

yām apitā upatiṣṭhanta āpah LŚ yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah AV prapīnam (MŚ v 1 'tam, TS ApŚ *prapyātām*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ *salilasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ghṛtam duhānā vīśatah prapītāh (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPPP *pravināh*) RV AV VS TB ApMB

āvitta dyāvōpṛthivī ṛtvṛdhau MS KS *āvinne dyāvōpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB

āmittau (TS *āminnau*) *mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS 'nāv *ṛtvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Others with *āvitta āvinna*, see Conc 188.

grāmam sajānayo ṛgachanti ApMB *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG

jāmum itvā mā vivṛsi lokān TA *jāmum itvā māva patṣi lokāt* AV

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmilo ('no) , *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino* , see §209

savitā bhṛtyām (KS ms † *manyām*) TS KS See §242

ṣ and p

§872 The variants are few

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS 'vīśāt, LŚ †*śadvīśāt*) RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ See §217

vājnam śepena VS *śeṣo vājnenā* MS But MS p p *śepah*, read certainly *śepo*

ye tātrṣur (TB *tātrpur*) *devatrā jehamānāh* RV AV MS TB AŚ ŚŚ. Kauś 'Thirsted' 'delighted'.

ā and prā

§873 In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV itself
āvo (and *prāvo*) *yulhyantam vṛṣabham daśadyum* RV (both)
āsmā aśṇvann āśāh AV · *prāsmā āśā aśṇvan* TA
āvat tam (TA Conc *prāvatam*, comm *āvatam*, Poona ed text and comm *āvar tam*, so also KS ms) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV AV
 SV KS TA

s and p, pt, pr, bh, t

§874 The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870)

suśīmam somasatsaru AV *suśīvam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS
 MS KS ŚB VāDh. See §180 *s* and *p* (t)

rasena sam asṛkṣmahī (RV *agasmahī*, KS LŚ *aganmahī*, AV JB *apṛkṣmahī*) RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB
s and *p*

[*āptam manah* TS MS KS TB MŚ ApŚ. So read in TB, for which Bibl Ind ed has *āsam*]

sacyutim (AŚ *pracyutim*) *jaghanacyutim* MS TB AŚ. Preceded by a *pāda* ending in *sacyutim* (MS *hastacyutim*). Perhaps the AŚ variant (*s* *pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety)

anugrāsaś (PB *anugrābhaś*) *ca vṛtrahan* RV AV PB. The original is a nom pl of *an-ugra*. PB misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*

yad adya dugdham pṛthuvīm asṛpta (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB
 TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ. Again *bh* is secondary to *s*

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *sv tv*, the latter secondary

gh and dh and other similar letters

§875 The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868. The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic

gṛhānāṅgāny apve (SV *aghe*) *parehi* RV AV SV VS N. The SV is certainly corrupt, see Benfey's Nachtrage to SV text, p 258. Benfey curiously retains *aghe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apvā* *gh* *pv*

agdhād eko 'hutād ekah TS *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād ekah* MŚ
gdh dha or *ddh.*
ima udvāṣṭakārīna ime .. TB ApŚ . *imā uddhāṣṭcārīṇa ime* MŚ.
ddh dv
ruvād dhokṣā (TB *nṛvādbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaśh* RV MS AB
 KB. TB. The TB is secondary, *ddh dbhy*

v and *j*, *ṣ*, *tr*, *ḥ*

§876 Compare §§866, 869 for *v* and *c*, *d*
pra vṛṣṭīmīnam āvṛṣṭh AV. VS ŚŚ pra samhr̥ṣṭīnam āvṛṣṭh LŚ The
 whole passage is obscure, LŚ doubtless secondary, with *j* for *v*
usāv (VSK *usā*) *etam dhūrṣāhau* (VSK MŚ *dhūrṣāhau*) VS VSK
 TS SB MŚ Others, §122 *ṣ v*
[vairāḍī (KSA † °je) puruṣī (so also KSA †, Conc wrongly *puruṣī*)
 TS KSA]
[pra yah satrācā (TB *sa vācā*, but comm and Poona ed text *satrācā*)
manasā yajāle (TB °*lan*, Poona ed text and comm °*le*) RV TB]
[śam le prṣṣvāva śiyatām AV śam u prṣṭhāva (read *prṣṣvāva* with Poona
 ed text and comm , tho *v l prṣṭhāva*) *śiyatām TA]*

y and *ṣ*, *th*

§877. For *y* and *p* see §867, for *dy* and *gh*, §868
rṣvāh satih kavaṣah (KSA *kavayah*) *śumbhamānāh* VS TS MS KSA
 See Keith's note on TS While the meaning of *kavaṣah* is quite
 uncertain, *kavayah* (found also in some TS mss) is probably only a
 graphic lect fac
tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB *asthām*, Poona ed *aśyām*)
 RV MS AB TB AŚ See §287
apāmatyam (AŚ *apām ittham*) *va sambhara* MS KS AŚ The AŚ is
 an absurd graphic blunder
samuddho agnir vṛṣanāratur (AV °*nā rathī*, ŚŚ °*nā rayir*) *dwah* AV AB
 AŚ ŚŚ Here the reverse error, *y* for *th*, has occurred in ŚŚ, see
 §93

Miscellaneous

§878 Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character
āptye (AV **apriye*, **dvīṣate*) *sam nayāmasi* RV AV * The AV comm
 reads *āptye* for *apriye* But the variant *dvīṣate* suggests that *apriye*
 must have been known in very early times, and indeed Ppp reads

apriye (Barret, *JAOS* 30 220) The RV says 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya' The AV charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character, with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy' Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *diviṣate* would be unintelligible

tāsām vīśīñḍānām (KS *vīśīñyānām*) MS KS *teṣām vīśiprīyānām* (VS ŚB °nām vo 'ham) VS TS ŚB *śn(y) pr* Both words are obscure, Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS KS meant the same

pratiśruikāyā artanam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB *n. l.* Possibly phonetic, cf §273

khanyābhyah (KSA *khalyā°*) *svāhā* TS KSA. Von Schroeder suggests reading with TS *n. l.*, cf preceding

anarṣarātum (SV *alarṣirātum*) *vasudām upa stuhī* RV SV AV N See §292 *n. l.*

śaśvat parikupitena (HG °*pīlena*) ApMB HG *t. l.* Oldenberg abandons the HG reading

abhi yo na irasyati (AV *no durasyati*) RV AV The AV reading (found also in Ppp as *duras-yatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV, which is antiquated and limited to RV *du i*

aciṣyāma (p p *amī*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vṛjane vīśva ūfi* MS *abhi syāma vṛjane sarvavīrāh* RV KS *c bh* (note p p of MS)

CHAPTER XXI SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f (nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'), 338 ff and 359 ff (*y* and *v* as 'Hiatusstilger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful, not a few new principles have come out of the study.

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prā-tisākhyaś, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions, and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882 For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notably the case, for instance, with the 'abhinihita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*).

§883 The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*). Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a*. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages, for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *r*, here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *n*, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual *n*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, lingualized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittiriya school (often also in KS). Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittiriya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *h*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels. After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant, here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ś*). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.

FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

§885. Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhihiṭa sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit

(a) AV writes *āu* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr 2 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV, AVŚ shows *ā* for *au* before *u*, Ppp has the regular *āu*.

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner. Thus Maitrāyaṇīya and Kāthaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr 4 124, for the practice of VS see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr texts, cf *kṛnūtām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ 5 1 3 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of *v* 1. On the other hand, at MŚ 3 5 14c Knauer reads *yatra cūscutad agnāv evantat*, without any ms authority, the corrupt mss are closer to *agnā*, the expected form.

(c) Taittirīya texts write *āu* and *au* before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr 10 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a*. But 10 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āu* and *au* should always be written, this is favored by the comm on TPr, and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV, SV (very few instances), and VS—write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āu* and *au* before other vowels. So RPr 129 (2 9) and 135 (2 11), and so VPr 4 125 gives the opinion of 'some' opposed to its own rule 4 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize before *u*-vowels, Tait texts write *āu* and *au*, AV writes *āu* for *au* but *a* for *o*, others *ā* and *a*.

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr texts, KS, and VSK write *ā* and *a*, AV writes *āu* but *a*, all others *āu* and *au*.

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc sing forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf Wackernagel I §273b, the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

§886. The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following
asvinau dyaakṣarena (MS KS °rayā) *prānāpānāu* (MS KS °nā) *ud
 ajayātām* TS MS KS

asā (ApŚ *asāv-asāv*) *upahvayasva* ŚŚ ApŚ

asmākam yonā (ApŚ *yonāv*) *udare suśevāh* MS ApŚ

imam yajñam juṣamāṇā (TB. °ṇā) *upetam* MS TB
upasthe mātuh surabhā (TS °bhā) *u loke* RV TS MS KS
ubhā (AV ubhā) *upānśu prathamā pibāva* RV AV
urīnasāv (TA uru°) *asutṛpā* (AV TA °pā) *udumbalau* (TA ulu°)
 RV AV. TA AŚ

kā (TA kā, AV VS kim) *ūrū pādā* (TA †pādā) *ucyete* RV AV VS. TA
 The only exception to the rule in AV Ppp (Barret, JAOS 42
 113) reads *pādā*, regularly

dauyā hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS MS °rā ūrdhvam, KS *hotārordhvam*)
 VS TS MS KS †18 17a In KS the form *hotārā*, not °rau, is
 concerned

na yonā (TS yonā) *uśāśā*° VS TS MS
rakṣohanau (VS ŚB °nau vām) *valagahanā* (TS ApŚ °hanā) *upa*°
 VS VSK TS KS ŚB ApŚ

syone kṛnūdhvam surabhā (TS °bhā) *u loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§887. The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are

uṣṇena vāya (ApMB vāyav) *udakenehi* (with varr) AV SMB ApMB
 AG GG PG

deva viṣṇa (ApŚ viṣṇav) *urv* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
divo vā viṣṇa (TS. viṣṇav) *uta vā pṛthivyāh* VS TS KS ŚB *divo viṣṇa*
 etc AV MS

maho vā viṣṇa (AV *maho viṣṇa*) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS viṣṇav *uta vān-*
tarikṣāt) AV VS TS KS ŚB

viṣṇa (TS ApŚ viṣṇav) *urukrama* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

§888 The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are

agnāu (VSK MS KS MŚ *agnā*) *agnis carati pravṛṣṭāh* AV VS VSK
 TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB, *pratika*, Vait KŚ Kauś GG
agnīṣomāv (MS KS MŚ °ṣomā) *imam su me* RV TS MS KS TB
 AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚŚ

ajasya nābhāu (MS KS nābhā) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV VS TS MS KS

asāv (MS KS MŚ *asā*) *anu mā* MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ

āyur dadhad yajñapatau (MS KS °tā) *avīhrutam* RV SV ArŚ VS MS
 KS LŚ ApŚ

imau bhadrav dhuryāv (MS °yā) *abhī* SV MS JB

usrāu etam VS TS ŚB MŚ ApŚ KŚ *usrā etam* VSK KS

In MŚ the rule is violated, no *v* I reported

gośaphe śakulāv (VSK °lā) *iva* AV VS VSK ŚŚ LŚ

tāv (KS tā) *ehi sam* TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ HG BṛhU *tāv iha*
sam AV *tāv ehi* (MG tā *eva*) *vi* AG ŚG PG MG
tāv eha sam AB.

dīkṣito 'yam aśā āmuṣyāyanah MS MŚ *adīkṣiṣṭāyam brāhmaṇo* 'sāv
amuṣya . ApŚ

dawyaḍ hotārāgnā (KS AŚ °gna, ŚŚ °rā agna) *ājyasya vītam* MS KS.
AŚ ŚŚ Since ŚŚ, if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule
which requires °rāv, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ,
or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*, the other
texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °rau No v l reported
for ŚŚ

nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vāṛṣkāu (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK MS
TB ŚB KS

namucāv (VSK MS KS °cā) *āsura sacā* RV AV VS VSK MS KS
ŚB TB ApŚ

pañcabhūr dhātā v dadhāv (MS KS dadhā) *idam* TS MS KS
But MS p p dadhe

putram iva pitarāv (VSK MS KS °rā) *aśvinobhā* RV AV VS VSK
MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ

praviśān sāmādhēnīr āghārāv ājyabhāḡāu (KSA āghārā ājyabhāḡā) *āśrutam*
TS KSA

madhavyau stokāv (MS °kā) *apa tau rarādha* TS MS

muṣkāu (VSK muṣkā) *id asyā ejatah* AV VS VSK ŚŚ

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS °thām) MS
KS † TB ApŚ

yadā carīṣṇū muthunāv (MS °nā) *abhūtām* RV MS N

yo 'sāv (MU 'sā) *āditye puruṣah so 'sāv* (MU 'sā) *aham* VS MU

rādhānsiṭ samprīcānāv (MS MŚ °sī °nā) *asam* MS ŚB KŚ. ApŚ
MŚ

vṣṇuḥ śipivṣṭa ṭūrāv (VSK ṭūrā) *āsannah* VS VSK *śipivṣṭa ṭūrā*
āsādyamānā KS

sacelasāv (VSK °sā, MS *samokasau sacelasā*) *arepasau* VS VSK MS
ŚB *samokasāv* (KS °sā) *arepasau* TS KS Kauś

samiddhe agnāv (VSK MS KS agnā) *adhī māmahānāh* VS VSK TS
MS KS ŚB

samarājāv (MS °jā) *asya bhuvanasya rājathah* RV MS

sarasvatīm aśvināv (VSK MS KS °nā) *indram agnum* VS VSK MS
KS ŚB TB

sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāv (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK
TS MS KS ŚB

upa (MS ulā) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvutam* (MS °nā ihāgatam) MS TB
TA

ṛtena sthūnāv (MG *ṛtena sthūnā*) *adhī* . ApMB HG MG

tena (TB *talo*) *no mutrāvarunāu* (MS °nā) *aviṣṭam* (TB *avi°*) RV, MS, TB

madhuś ca mādhaveś ca vāsantīkāv (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

viṣṇūvarunā (TB °nāv) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB °pā vām) MS TB

yāv (MS KS yā) *ātmanvad* AV TS MS KS

agnim sve yonāv (VSK MS KS yonā) *abhār ukhā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

ahāv (MS KS ahā) *anadatā hate* AV TS MS KS

ā tasthāv (VSK MS KS tasthā) *amṛtam divi* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

indravāhāv (KS °hā) *ṛbhavo vājaratnāh* RV KS

mutrāvarunāu (VSK °nā, MS *indrāvarunā*) *algābhyām* VS VSK MS

vāsantīkāv (KS *ime vās°*, MS KS °hikā) *ṛtū abhakalpamānāh* VS MS KS TB

śaiśirāv (MS °rā, KS *ime śaiśirā*) *ṛtū abhakalpamānāh* TS MS KS ŚB

iṣaś corjaś ca śaradāv (VSK MS KS °dā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

ubhā dātārāv (VSK MS KS °rā) *iṣām rayīndm* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

ko nu vāmi mutrāvarunāv (MS °na) *ṛtāyan* RV MS KB ŚB

tapas ca tapasyaś ca śaiśirāv (VSK MS KS °rā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

devī uṣṇsāv (VSK MS °sā) *āśvinā* VS VSK MS TB

daivyaū (VSK °yā) *adhvaryū ā gatam* VS VSK ŚŚ

dhanasālāv (VSK MS KS °tā) *ihāvatū* VS VSK TS MS KS

praharṣṇo (KS *ms °nam*, ed *em*) *madrasya made mṛṣṇsāv* (KS °sā) *astu* KS ApŚ

mahāntāv (MS °tā) *indrāvarunā mahāvasū* RV MS

yajñasya pakṣā (TS °ṣāv) *ṛṇayo bhavanī* TS MS KS

yat pṛthivyām yad urāv (VSK MS KS urā) *anantarikṣe* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

yā (AV omits) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS † °bhā) *āyatāyām* AV KS TB

yo no mutrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatnāh (TS °varunāv *abhidāsati*) TS MS

imau (Kauś *ṇau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS *pakṣā*) *ajerau patatrīnau*

(VSK TS † KS °nah) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

rājānāh samitāv (VSK MS KS °tā) *iva* RV VS VSK TS MS KS

vāyava ārohanavāhāv (KSA °hā) *anadvāhu* TS KSA

venubhāram girāv (KSA *girā*) *iva* TS KSA TB

śacyā harī dhanutarāv (KS °rā) *ataṣṭa* RV KS

bukraś ca śuciś ca graṣmāu (VSK MS KS °mā) ṛtū VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB *

śūdrāryāu (VSK MS KS °yā) asṛjyētām VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāu (VSK °nyā) [ahorātre] VS VSK
saṃ yāu apnastho (MS yā apnastho) apaseva janān RV MS
sajoṣasāu (VSK °sā) aśvinā dansobhīh VS VSK ŚB

sahasasā (RV also °sām) medhasātāu (VSK °tā) va tmanā RV (bis)
VSK KB (This RV repetition is omitted in RVRep)

somārudrāu (MS °drā) iha su mṛdatam nah RV AV MS
staumi devāu (MS KS devā) aśvinau nāthito johavīmī TS MS KS
hatāḡhaśaṇsā (TB °sāu) ābharadvasū MS KS TB
hatāḡhaśaṇsāu (VSK °sā) ābhārṣām vasu vāryānī VS VSK TB
hemantasiśirāu (VSK MS KS °rā) ṛtū (TS ṛtūnām) VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

hotārāu (VSK MS °rā) indram aśvinā VS VSK MS TB
hotārāu (VSK MS KS °rā) indram prathamā suvācā VS VSK MS KS
TB

§889 The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are
ubhayebhyah pra cikitsā gaviṣtau (VSK gaviṣtau) RV VS VSK
kuvit su no gaviṣṭaye (MS KS gaviṣṭaye) RV SV TS MS KS AB
AŚ ApŚ

ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣtau (VSK gaviṣtau) RV VS VSK AB KB
eko bahūnām asi manyav iditah (AV manya iditā) RV AV
tam tvā ghṛtasnav (VSK °sna) imahe RV SV VSK ŚB
tava vāyav (VSK vāya) ṛtaspatē RV VS VSK ŚB
niryubhīr vāyav (VSK vāya) ā gahi RV ArŚ VS VSK
niryubhīr vāyav (VSK MS KS vāya) iṣṭaye durone RV VS VSK TS
MS KS

niryubhīr (AV niryubhīr) vāyav (AV VSK MS vāya) iha AV VS
VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

maritrāvarunasya camasādhvāyav (MŚ °ya) ādrava (ehi) TS ŚB KŚ
ApŚ MŚ

vasat te viṣṇav (KS viṣṇa) āsa ā kṛnomī RV SV TS KS AŚ
vy astabhnā (etc., §137) rodasī viṣṇav (VSK MS KS viṣṇa) ele RV VS
VSK MS KS ŚB TA

sahasah sūnav (MS KS sūna) āhuta RV TS MS KS

§890 In the following *o* of voc sing is retained without change
sa no mayobhūh pīto (AŚ ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] pītau) āvīśasva
(AŚ āvīśaha) TS TB AŚ ŚG PG SMB

tāsv adhvarāyav ādhāve° ŚŚ tāsv adhvarāyo indrāya AB AŚ

brhaspatasrutasya ta (MS *tā*, KS omits) *indo* (MS KS *inda*) *indri*^o
 TS MS KS *brhaspatasrutasya deva soma ta inda indri*^o VSK

INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

§891 In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (*abhinihita*), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a*. On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p. 324, the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

§892 On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the Prātiśākhya give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (*ṛkṣu*).

§893 Early statements in western grammars add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text'.

§894 Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV. instances, that

(a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, I c, p. 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten, except that at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five

§895 If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f., Wackernagel I p. 325.

General practice of Vedic texts

§896 Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out, perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts, while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

Evidence of the variants

§898 In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*, whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases.

in the AV, and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr 138 (2 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position.

§899 Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms *a* written and *a* elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV, mentioned in §894. Thus in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases, the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases, the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV are very few (only 5), in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

Metrical passages

§901 The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants, it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902 When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV, written 21 times, omitted 4, AV 25 to 12, TS 19 to 7, MS 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS (10 to 6) and KS (20 to 16). SV forms a striking exception, among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers, they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV school much more than in the others). While the SV and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV itself 21 to 4).

§903 When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904 Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

Prose passages

§905 In the prose variants the school texts of SV show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittiriya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced).

Table of final a written or omitted after e and o

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted.

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
SV	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāṅ school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
TB	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tait school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items)

so *adhvarān* (AV Kauś 'dhvarān) so *ṛtūn kalpayān* RV AV TS MS

KS ŚB Kauś

anumate 'nu (KapS † *anu*) *manyasva na idam* (AV 'nu *idam manyasva*)

AY KS KapS (quoted in note to KS) *anumate 'nu manyasva*
(prose) GG KhG HG ApG

nṛ amum bhaja yo 'mitro asya TB *nṛ tam bhaja yo amitro asya* AV
latra śikṛiye 'ja ekapādah AV † 13 1 6 *tasmiñ chikṛiye aja ekapāt* TB
teṣām yo ajyānīm (PG 'jyānīm) *ajūm āvāhāt* (SMB Conc *ajūm*
āvāhāt, but Jorgensen as other texts) TS SMB PG BDh

ṛco akṣare (NṛpU 'kṣare) *param vyoman* RV AV GB TB TA ŚvetU
NṛpU N

yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (ŚŚ *anyo*) *ast* JB ŚŚ *yasmād anyo na paro ast*
jātah PB *yasmān na jātah paro anyo ast* (NṛpU 'st) VS TB
ApŚ MahānU NṛpU

ye agnayah (TS KS TB ApŚ 'gnayah) *samanasah* (KS adds *sacelasah*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ

tam tvā vṛṣve avantu (AV 'vantu) *devāh* AV ApMB HG A very poor
pāda but intended for *triṣṭubh*

yo 'syeše dvipado yaś catuṣpadaḥ AV ya īśe asya (MS KS *īśe yo asya)
dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ RV VS TS MS KS (both)

vaśśvānaro aṅgirasām (AV 'ṅṛi°, AŚ aṅgīrobhayaḥ) AV·AŚ ŚŚ

śucih śukre ahany ojaśīnā (MS ahann ojaśīne, KS †śukro ahany ojaśye,
AŚ 'hany ojaśīnām) TS MS KS AŚ

sūryo ahobhar (KS sūryo [misprint] 'hobhar) anu tvāvatu KS TB

so asmān (MŚ asmān) adhipatīn karotu TS MŚ so 'smān adhipatīn
kṛnotu ŚŚ

svām tanvam (TS TB tanuvam) varuno 'suṣot (TS TB aśisret) TS MS
KS TB It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS KS
reading to an anuṣṭubh

agnir ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhīḥ MS agnir amṛto abhavad vayoḥbīḥ (KS
saḥobhīḥ) RV VS TS KS ŚB ApMB

na tā arvā renukakāto aśnute (AV 'ēnute) RV AV KS TB AŚ Many
AV mss read aśnute

adhū bruvantu te 'vantv (TS TB ApŚ avantv) asmān RV AV VS TS
MS KS TB ApŚ

anīkair dveṣo ardaya (ŚŚ 'rdaya) MS ŚŚ

annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB 'smāsu) dhātā (MS ApŚ dheḥ) VS MS
KS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ

anyam te asman (NṛpU 'sman) nī vapantu senāḥ RV TS NṛpU

anyo- 'nyo (Vait -anyo) bhavatu varno asya TB Vait

avāstjo apo (TB 'po) achā samudram RV MS KS TB

pṛa vartaya divo aśmānam (AV 'śmānam, v 1 aś°) indra RV AV

prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan (TS aviṣyan) RV SV VS TS MS KS
ŚB

namo astu (MŚ 'stu) parāyate AV MŚ

prāñco agāma (TA prāñjo 'gāmā) nṛlaye hasāya RV AV TA

payo grheṣu payo 'stu tan nah MŚ payo valseṣu payo astu tan mayi
AB TB AŚ ApŚ

ye agnayah pāñcājanyaḥ (MŚ puriṣṇah) VS ŚB MŚ ye 'gnayah
puriṣyaḥ (KS °ṣṇah) TS KS ApŚ JUB

dhātā samudro apa (AG 'va) hantu pāpam AG PG dh° sa° abhayaḥ
kṛnotu MG

śiśū kṛdantaḥ pari yāto adhvaram (AV arnavam, and 'rnavam) RV AV
MS TB

namo astu (VS ŚB KŚ PG NīlarU 'stu) sarpebhyah RVKh VS TS
MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ PG ApMB HG MG NīlarU

ye 'do (MS amī) rocane divah RVKh TS MS ApMB

yo asyāḥ pṛthivyāś tvaci TB ApŚ yo 'syāḥ (so all mss but one, and so
Cone, but ed † asyāḥ) pṛthivyā adhū tvaci MŚ

- yo nah svo (AV svo yo) aranaḥ (SV 'ranah) RV SV AV AG ŚG
Oldenberg, *Proleg* 40, thinks of inserting yo in RV, tho he fails to
note that AV reads so
- varṣvānaro adabdhās (AV no adabdhās, TA me 'dabdhās, MS ApŚ
'dabdhās) tanūpāḥ AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB
- ko ambādadate (AŚ 'mbā°) dadat MS AŚ
- mayā so annam (AV 'nnam) atti yo vipaśyati RV AV
- indra vājegu no 'va (TB ava, KS vaha) RV AV SV ArS MS KS TB
- yad vā me api (LŚ 'pi, Vait apa) gachati AŚ Vait LŚ
- ye agnayo divo ye pṛthivyāḥ MS ApŚ MŚ ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntarikṣāt
KS (wrongly printed as prose in ed)
- ye agnūdagdhā ye anagnūdagdhāḥ (TB Poona ed † 'nagnū°, so v 1 of AV)
RV AV TB AŚ ye agnūsvāttā ye 'nagnūsvāttāḥ (VS anagnū°)
VS TB ApŚ
- sā tvam asy amo 'ham (ŚB BṛhU PG amo aham, ApMB amūham,
MG āpy amo 'ham) KS JUB ŚB BṛhU AG ŚG PG ApMB
MG sa tvam asy amo 'ham AB
- kikasābhyo anūkyāt (ApMB 'nū°) RV AV ApMB
- te asmat (TS 'smat) pāsān pra muñcantv enasah (TS anhasah) AV TS
- divo antebhyas (KS 'nte°) pari RV SV KS
- yo adya (PB 'dya) saumyo (AV senyo) vadhaḥ AV PB AŚ —Ppp
'dya acc to Roth
- vyāghro vāyāghre adhi (TB 'dhi) KS TB vyāghro adhi vāyāghre AV
- ye anneṣu (VS KS 'nneṣu) vvidhyanti VS TS MS KS
- varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS 'dhi) nāke TS KS TB
- rājā me prāno amṛtam (TB 'mṛtam) VS † MS KS TB
- īdam, KS ā mā varco (AŚ rādho) agnānā (KS 'gnānā) dattam āgāt (AV
āgan, KS etu) AV MS KS TB AŚ
- vṛṣāyamāno 'vrūla (AV av°) somam RV AV TB
- śatolaye 'bhūmātīṣāhe (PG abhi°) TS KS MŚ SMB PG
- kṛnvāno (KS kurvāno) anyān (TS KS ApŚ † anyān, MS anyan, KŚ †
'nyān) adharān sapatnān AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ
- śṛnavantv (PB 'tv) āpo adha (PB 'dhah) kṣarantīḥ RV PB
- so adharā (AB 'dharā karati) jātavedāḥ AB ŚB Cadenced prose, cf
kṛnotu so
- annapate 'nnasya (MS KS MŚ MG an°) no dehi VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB ApŚ MŚ PrānāgU AG ŚG MG SMB Intended for
triṣṭubh
- ayam yo asya yasya ta īdam śirah MŚ ayam yo 'si yasya ta īdam śirah
KS ApŚ

[*yo asya kauṣṭhya jagatah* MŚ *yo 'sya kauṣṭhya* (KS °*ṭha*) *ja°* KS TA ApŚ So Conc, but Van Gelder's ed reads '*sya* for MŚ without v 1]

[*anamatram no* (VSK *me*) *adharāk* (AV °*rāt*) AV VSK † KS Conc '*dharāk* for VSK]

[*bṛhaspate abhīṣaster* (AV ed '*bhī°*) *amuñcah* AV VS TS MS KS TAA But read *abhī°* in AV, see Whitney's note]

§908 In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided
namo 'stu (TS KS *astu*) *nīlagrīvāya* (NīlarU *nīlakṣikhandāya*) VS TS KS NīlarU BrhPDh

viśvasmar bhūtāya dhruvo (TS ApŚ *bhūtāyādhr̥varo*) *astu* (TS '*st*, MŚ † '*stu*) *devāh* (TS omits) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ye apsu śadānsi (KS '*psu sa°*) *cakrīre* MS KS

ye te 'ryaman (KS *arya°*) *bahavo devayānāh* TS MS KS † 10 13a

vājīnām vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān VSK *vājīnām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ

yo 'gnim (AŚ *agnim*) *hotāram avrthāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ †

jālavado maruto adbhīs (TB '*dbhīs*) *tamaytvā* TB ApŚ

kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (TA MahānU *ati duritāty*) *agnih* AV TA MahānU

aghorebh̥yo 'tha (MS *atha*) *ghorebh̥yah* MS TA MahānU

yāś ca devyo antān abh̥ito tatanīha SMB *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abh̥ito 'tatananta* (mss *tatantha*) MG See §63 The meter is poor in any case

§909 We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written), or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions

anv adya no anumatiḥ (AV Kauś '*nu°*) AV MS ŚŚ MŚ Kauś

yān agnayo anvatapyanta (TS '*nva°*) *dhiṣṇyāh* AV TS MS

ye asmīn (KS '*smīn*) *mahaty arnave* MS KS MŚ

jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat AV *jyog rāṣṭre adhī jāgarat* HG

jyok śrotre 'dhi (HG *adhī*) *jāgarat* AV HG

antarikṣe adhy (TS KS '*dhy*) *āsate* TS MS KS MŚ

sarvābh̥yo abhayam (TB '*bhayam*) *karat RV* AV TB N

garbho asy (MS '*sy*) *oṣadhīnām* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait —Ppp

also '*sy* (Barret JAOS 48 38)

- tanvo adya* (MS 'dya) *dadhātu me* AV MS
vasanto asyāsīd (VS 'syāsīd) *āyam* RV AV VS TA The meter of VS
 (with *āyam*) seems easier
- satyam it tan na tvāvān* (MS 'van) *anyo asti* (MS 'sti) RV MS KS TB
 The meter of MS (*tvāvan?*) is inferior
- ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV
ūrubhyām te aṣṭhivadbhyām (ApMB 'ṣṭhī) RV AV ApMB
te asmā agnayo (MS 'ye, v l 'yo) *dravinam dattvā* MS ApŚ *te 'smā*
agnaye dravinān dattvā KS The meter of MS ApŚ is very poor
- sviṣṭm no abhi* (KŚ 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KŚ
sviṣṭm no 'bhi vasyo nayantu KS MŚ
sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, KS *aditer*) *upasthe* VSK
 TS KS ŚS KŚ
- eko vo devo apy* (AV 'py) *atīṣṭhat* AV MS *eko devo apy atīṣṭhat* TS KS
 Only MS is certainly inconsistent (a written but not pronounced)
- bheṣajam gave 'śvāya* (MS *aśvāya*) VS TS MS ŚB LŚ *bheṣajam*
gave 'śvāya puruṣāya KS In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya*
 to this pāda makes the elision of a better metrically
- mā va eno anyakṛtam bhujema* RV *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema*
 KS In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation
 are consistent
- tām u dhīrāso anudṛśya yajante* VS ŚB (a not pronounced) *tām*
dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyanta MS (*kavayo* looks like a secondary
 intrusion, cf KS in next form, without it *a-nu* would have to be
 pronounced) *tām dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK 'dīśya) *yajante* (KS
anudṛśyāyanta kavayah) VSK TS KS TB (a pronounced)
- anyāns te asman* (KS *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāh* MS KS Both writings
 are metrical VS TS have *anyam asman niva*° *tāh*, which is
 inferior to both MS and KS
- yad vāto apo* (MS MŚ 'po) *aganīgan* (TS KSA ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS
 MS KSA ApŚ MŚ Writing and pronunciation are consistent
 in all texts except VS, where one of the initial *a*'s must be omitted
 in reading, tho both are written
- yo agnau rudro yo apsu antah* AV (intended for *trīṣṭubh*, reading *agnau*,
apsu, and perhaps *rud-r-o*, but more likely a syllable short) *yo*
'gnau rudro yo 'psu antah ŚirasU (meant for *anuṣṭubh*, 'gnau,
 'psu) *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MŚ *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣu*
 TS ApŚ MŚ (*trīṣṭubh*, 'gnau, 'psu—inconsistent with the writing
 of TS ApŚ) *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct
 Conc) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspatiṣu* KS (writing and pronunciation
 consistent)

so *asmān pātu sarvatah* AV so 'smān pātu (prose) TS

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53

abhayaṃ vo 'bhayaṃ no astu (AB AŚ me 'stu) AB AŚ ŚŚ *abhayaṃ me astu* (AB † 'stu) AB ApŚ

iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayayai*) *dyumnādyorje* (VS ŚB † *dyumna ūrje*) '*patyāya* (VS † ŚB † *apa°*, TB † *patyāya*, ApŚ °*yorjapatyāya*) VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ

etāni te aghnye (PB 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS PB *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS ŚB MŚ In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table, the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or '*ghnye*)

vīvarto aśṭacatvāriṃśah (MS 'ṣtā°) MS KS *vīvarto 'ṣtā°* VS TS ŚB *yo 'smān* (MS MŚ *asmān*) *dveṣṭi yam* (AV adds *ca*) *vayam dvīṣmah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU KBV JUB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś HG BDh Thus extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr school, with '*smān* in all others, if the editions are to be trusted. For other formulas containing it see the Conc under it, and also *tam abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc, *agne yat te tapas* (*tejas*, '*rcis*, '*śocis*, '*haras*) etc, *tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi* etc, *ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo tasmān* (ApŚ '*smān*) etc MS ApŚ † 6 18 2, *abhy aham tam bhūyāsam* etc, *prāham tam atibhūyāsam* (ApŚ † *abhi°*) etc, *vy asau yo* etc, *durmutrās* (or the like) etc

devānām tvā patnīr devīr sadhasthe aṅgirasvad (TS 'ṅgi°) VS TS MS KS ŚB The same with *aditiṣ tvā* (°*tis tvā*), *dhīṣanās tvā*, *varūtrayo* (etc), *gnās tvā*

ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye (MS KS *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The same with *medhāyai manase*, *sarasvatyai pūjne*, and *dīkṣāyai tapase*

agneh (also, *indrasya*, *viśveṣām devānām*) *prīyam pātho 'pīhi* (TS *apīhi*) VS 8 50, VSK 8 22 4, TS ŚB 11 5 9 12

yo maritasyā diśo abhidāsāt (five formulas) MS *agnim* (also, *indram*, *mitrāvarunau*, *somam*) *sa* (TB *sa diśām devatānām*) *ṛchatu yo maritasyai* (KS °*syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS TB ApŚ

namo agrīyāya (VS KS '*gryāya*, MS '*grīyāya*) VS TS MS KS *namo agrevadhāya* (MS KS '*gre°*) VS MS TS KS

namo aparasadbhyah (PB and v 1 of MŚ '*para°*) PB MŚ

namo 'śvebhyo (TS *aś°*) '*śvapatisbhyas ca* VS TS † MS KS

namas te astu (PB JB LŚ SMB '*stu*) VS TS MS KS AB PB JB

- ŚB TB TA TAA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ AG Kauś SMB ApMB
 ApG Occurs frequently, and apparently always with *astu* except
 in SV texts, which read 'stu
namo vo 'stu (AŚ ŚŚ *astu*) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait SMB Here, in
 curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB reads *astu* according
 to Jorgensen's edition (not in the Conc), while 'stu is read by VS
 and Vait
tebhyo namo astu (PG 'stu) VS MS KS PG ŚB
namo 'gnaya (ApŚ *agnaya*) *upadras̥tre* ŚŚ ApŚ
namo astu (VS ŚB 'stu) *rudrebhyo ye antarikṣe* (VS KS ŚB 'ntari°)
 VS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also *namo astu* (VS ŚB KŚ 'stu)
ru° ye d̥ivi (and, *prthivyām*) VS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ
namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyas̥ (KS 'rbha°) *ca* VS KS *namo*
bṛhadbhyo 'rbhakebhyas̥ ca MS MŚ
namo rathibhyo arathebhyas̥ (TS 'rathe°) *ca* VS TS
yo no an̥i śapat̥i tam elena jeṣam MŚ *yo me 'n̥i dūre 'rātīyati tam*
elena jeṣam TS
rudro 'gn̥i (MS *agn̥i*) MS TA ŚŚ
rudro 'dh̥ipatiḥ (MS *adhi°*) MS TA
loṣyāpo apsarasā (KS † 'psa°, MS 'psarasā) *ūrjo nāma* (TS 'psaraso
mudāḥ) VS TS MS KS ŚB
dh̥ūrta (KS °le) *namas te astu* (KS 'stu) KS ApŚ *dh̥ūrte namante*
 (?) *astu* MS
praty elā vāmā yajamāno 'grabh̥i (ŚŚ *agra°*) KB ŚŚ
prāno agn̥iḥ PrānāgU *prāno 'gn̥iḥ* MU
madhu hutam indratame agnau (LŚ 'gnau) VS ŚB LŚ *hutam havir*
indratame 'gnau MS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ
ye devā d̥ivibhāgā (MS °gāḥ *s̥tha*) *ye antarikṣabhāgā* (TS KS 'ntari°)
 TS MS KS
śwam prajābhyo 'h̥insantam (KS † *ahin°*) *sadhasthe* (VS ŚB ° *sthād*)
agn̥im (TS 'gn̥im) VS TS MS KS ŚB—KS punctuates
 before *agn̥im*, so that elision of *a* is impossible
saṣṭr abdo ayavobh̥iḥ (TS ApŚ 'yāvabh̥iḥ) VS TS ŚB ApŚ
samadhah-sam̥dho 'gne-'gna (ŚŚ °dho *agna*, MŚ † °dho 'gnā) *ājyasya*
vyantu AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *sam̥dho agna* (MS *agnā*) *ājyasya* MS
 KS TB MŚ
suyame me adya ApŚ *sūyame me 'dya* MS
agn̥ir adhi vyat̥lo asyām KS *agn̥ir vyat̥lo 'syām* TS
agne yai te 'rcis (MS *arcis*) *tēna* AV MS KS ApŚ
añgiras̥o me asya (KS 'sya) *yajñasya prātaranūwāk̥ir ahaṣuh* MS KS

- tam* (KS † *tat*) *tvendragraha saha yan me 'sti* (ApŚ *asti*) *tena* KS
 ApŚ *tam tvā pra viśāmi saha yan me 'sti tena* AV
diśo abhy abhūd ayam MS KS MŚ *diśo 'bhy ayam rājābhūt* TS TB
 Semblance of meter, perhaps to be classed with metrical variants
antimitraś (TS *antiyamā°*) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS *'mitraś*) *ca ganah* VS
 TS MS KS
andho achetah (TS ApŚ *'chetah*) VS TS KS ApŚ Ed of KS *'chetah*,
 but the sole ms *aśchetah*
apāgne agnum (TS MS TB MŚ ApŚ *'gnim*) *āmādam jah* VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
apsu dhautasya yo aśvasanis (KS *'śva°*) MS KS *yo*
bhakṣo aśvasanir TS
aśvibhyām tirohnyānām (MŚ *tirohnyānām*) *somānām anubrūhi* ApŚ
 MŚ Also *tirohnyān* (MŚ *asvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān pras-*
thitān preṣya ApŚ MŚ
ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS *'dhvare sthāh*, ApŚ
adhvare sthāt) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
āpo devīr agrevuno agrevuno TS TB *devīr āpo 'greguvō 'grenīyo*
 MS MŚ *devīr āpo agrevuh premam* KS
ye devāḥ purahsado (so also TS, for which Conc † *parah°*) *'gninetrā*
 (MS *agni°*) TS MS KS BDh
dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati VS TS ŚB TB *dhvara dhvarantam yo*
asmān dhvarāt MS
agnis te 'gram TS *agniṣ te agram* MŚ
somo 'smākam (KS *asm°*) *brāhmanānām rājā* VS VSK TS MS KS
 ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ
svadhā pitr̥bhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyah (AV *antar°*, GG † *'ntarī°*) AV ApŚ
 MŚ GG HG
yo asmi so asmi AV *yo 'smi sa san yaje* MS KS AB *yo 'ham asmi sa*
san yaje TB ApŚ
tuttho vo viśvavedā vibhajatu varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS *'dhi*) *nāke* TS MS
 KS
nirasto aghaśansah (ApŚ *'gha°*) KS ApŚ
[devo narāsanso 'gnau (ŚŚ † *'gnā*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ ŚŚ
 Conc quotes *agnā* for ŚŚ]
[yena turyena brahmanā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās JB *yena rūpena*
prajāpataye †'vapathās (Conc *ava°*) KS]

§911 Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and initial *a* occur among the variants. For a single case of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338. In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*, but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple:

ve ā (SV *wayā*) *bhūjanī vedhasā* RV SV A loc in RV is replaced by an instr in SV, with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājatah* RV AV Followed by *ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV AV The verse is mystic and obscure If the AV text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*, so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question Whitney translates the prior *pāda* according to the RV reading, but keeps the AV reading in the second

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc we would seem to have a single similar case of *au* for *o* before *a*

dyāvāprthivī uro antarīkṣa VS VSK MS KS ŚB, the Conc quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK But the actual text is *urv* If the text as printed (with *antarīkṣa*, not **kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā° urv antarīkṣam* AV TS

SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *r*

§913 The variants indicate the following school tendencies Rg-vedic and Vājasaneyin texts write *a-r* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r* This is prescribed by RPr 136 (2 11) and VPr 4 48 (which gives *a-r* for *ā-r* and makes no reference to *a-r*, implying no change)

§914 Taittirīya texts and KS write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*, as prescribed by TPr 10 8 So does LS in the single variant noted

§915 The rule of APr 3 46 is like that of TPr, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r* But the mss of AV, according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *r* is not followed by a sibilant, when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-r* (because of *svrabhakti*, Whitney on APr 1 101) There are exceptions in the mss, and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc) agrees thruout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss, namely, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-r* Both Vait and Kauś sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows, the instances recorded are few

§916. Maitrāyaṇīya texts regularly write *ā-r* and *a-r* without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*, so in one variant, see *yad dīdayac* ([°]*yañ*) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *r* in MS, these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919 *yatrā ṛṣayo jagmuh* and *yenā ṛṣayas tapasā*. There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-r* in MS

savitre tvārbhumate (VS ŚB *tvā ṛbhu*[°], MS *tvārbhū*[°]) VS MS ŚB
TA This sandhi is unique among the MS variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss. read *svārbhū*[°], but p p *tvā, ṛbhu*[°]. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267aα, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *r*-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS, attention will be called to them as they occur.

§918. The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *r*
savitre tvārbhumate (VS ŚB *tvā ṛbhu*[°], MS *tvārbhū*[°]) VS MS ŚB
TA See §916

yad dīdayac chavasa (MS [°]*yañ śavasa*, TS [°]*śā*) *ṛtaprajāta* (KS *chav-asarta*[°]) RV VS TS MS KS AB This is the only case in which MS shortens *ā* to *a*, see §916. The TS reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kāṇḍikā*, which always suspends all sandhi, it is no real exception to the Tait. practice.

dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha ṛtuh (TS KSA *tathartuh*, MŚ *tathā ṛtuh*)
RV VS TS KSA MŚ

agnyihvebhyas (MS *agnihvarebhyas*) *tvartāyubhya[h]* (MS *tvā ṛtā*[°])
TS MS KS

yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*) RV AV
yatha ṛtava (AV TA *yathartava*) *ṛtubhir yanti sādhu* (AV *sākam*, TA *klplāh*) RV AV TA

svāha ṛṣabham (MS *svāhā ṛṣ*[°], TB *svāharṣ*[°]) VS MS TB

viśvakarma ṛṣih (MS [°]*mā ṛṣih*, KS [°]*marṣih*) VS MS KS ŚB

tapasarṣayah (MahānU [°]*saṛṣayah*) *svavar* (TB _{sv}*svavar*) *anvavindan* TB TA
MahānU The MahānU reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pñn 6 1 128.

yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih AV *yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmih satyadharmā* TS MS KS Here only AV has this sandhu, the other texts stand for *rathas* plus *ṛju*^o Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation *ratharju*^o, with double crasis, even in the YV texts

[*viśvādhiko rudro maharṣih* (TA Conc *maharṣih*, but Poona ed correctly *maharṣih*) TA MahānU]

§919 The rest are cases of short *a* followed by *r*

yatra ṛṣayo (MS *yatrā ṛ*^o, KS *yatrar*^o) *jagmuh* VS MS KS ŚB

On the MS forms of this and the next cf §916

yena ṛṣayas (MS MŚ *yenā ṛ*^o, TS KS ApŚ *yenar*^o) *tapasā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ KŚ MŚ Cf prec

yatrarṣayah (Kauś *yatra ṛṣ*^o) *prathamajā ye* (Kauś *ṛjāh*, om *ye*) *purānāh* TS TB ApŚ Kauś

śāradena (also, *śaśirena*, *vasantena*, *hemantena*) *ṛtunā* (KS TB *ṛnar-tunā*) VS MS KS TB KŚ

ṛtuṣṭhā (MS *ṛāh*, KS *ṛās*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS *sthurtusṛṣah*) VS MS KS ŚB

ṛtava (KS *ṛvas*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS † *sthartā*^o) VS KS ŚB *ṛtasthā sthartāvṛdhah* TS

medhām sapta ṛṣayo (ApMB *saptar*^o) *daduh* ApMB RVKh But Scheffelowitz reads *saptarṣayo* also in RVKh

svāhākr̥tasya sam u tṛpnuta ṛbhavah (TB [so Poona ed.] ApŚ *tṛpnu-tarbhavah*) RV TB ApŚ

brāhmanam adya ṛdhyāsam (KS *adyardh*^o) MS KS MŚ

tasya ṛksāmāny (TS KS *tasyark*^o) VS TS MS KS ŚB

tvām adya ṛṣa āṛṣeya ṛṣīnām (KS † TB *adyarṣa āṛṣeyarṣīnām*) VS

MS KS TB

avartyaṛ badhāyopamanthilāram (TB *avartyaṛ ṛvadhā*^o, so Poona ed.) VS TB

yathāham bharata ṛṣabha (ŚŚ *bharatarṣ*^o) AB ŚŚ The only irregular case in ŚŚ or any RV text among the variants No *v* *i* is recorded

yebhyo na ṛte (TS KS *narte*) *pavate dhāma kimcana* VS TS MS KS ŚB

varunasya ṛtasadanam (KS *ṛsyarta*^o) *asī* VS KS ŚB

varunasya ṛtasadany (ApŚ *ṛsyarta*^o) *asī* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

ṛtṛṣyasya savanasya ṛbhunāto (ApŚ *ṛnasyarbhū*^o) KŚ ApŚ MŚ

tenarṣinā (MS AŚ *tena ṛṣinā*) TS MS TB AŚ ApŚ

śruta ṛṣim (TB *śrutarṣim*) *ugram abhūmātīṣāham* RV MS TB

śivo me saptarṣin (KŚ MŚ *sapta ṛṣin*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ Note *ar* in Vait even before a sibilant, cf §915

- satyaś* (VS *śukraś*) *ca ṛtapāś* (TS KS *carta*°) *cātyanhāh* VS TS MS KS
saptarṣayah (VS MS *sapta ṛ*°) *sapta dhāma priyāni* VS TS MS KS
 TB In TS 1 5 3 2b *sapta ṛṣ*° is read without sandhi merely
 because a *kandikā* ends here, it is no real exception to the rule
sapta ṛṣayo (TS KS *saptar*°) *'sṛjyanta* VS TS MS KS ŚB
saptarṣinām (ApŚ Kauś *saptar*°) *sukṛtām yatra lokah* Vait KS MŚ
 ApŚ Kauś Note *ar* in Kauś even before a sibilant (one ms *ar*),
 cf §915
saptarṣin (ApŚ *saptarṣin*) *jinvā* ApŚ KS
upahūtā dhenuh (ŚB *gāwah*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB °*bhāh*, AŚ ŚŚ † *saharṣabhā*)
 TS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Irregular sandhi in ŚB
upa mā (AŚ ŚŚ *mām*) *dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ *saharṣ*°) TB
 AŚ ŚŚ
indrartubhir brahmanā vāyṛdhānah TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhuhir brahmanā*
samvidānah ŚŚ
indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhih (KS *saharṣ*°) RV AV KS ApMB In ApMB
 we must certainly read *saharṣibhih* with four mss, in accord with
 Tait usage, Winternitz prints *saha ṛ*° with only one ms
upa ṛṣabhasya (TB LŚ *uparṣ*°) *retasī* (AV *yad retah*) RV AV TB LŚ
indrāya ṛṣabhena VS *indrāyarṣabhenāsvbhyām sarasvatyaḥ* TB
ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA
nen na ṛnān ṛnavān ṛpsamānah MS Only AV has this sandhi
 (*na, ṛnam*), the others *nas, ṛ-*
yatrā sapta ṛṣin (TS KS *yatra saptarṣin*) *para ekam āhuh* RV VS TS
 MS KS N
yatharika ṛṣir (KS °*karṣir*) *viṣṇuṇale* KS TA ApŚ Only KS has this
 sandhi, the others *eka(h) ṛṣir*, two words

SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

§920 On this subject the variants throw little new light School tendencies are seldom discernible, when they do seem to appear, other known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence

I Final *n* before initial vowels

§921 All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre-historically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny* These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics, they hardly belong in this place

1 Final *ān* before vowels

§922 The Prātisākhya in general (RPr 284 [4 26], VPr 3 141, APr 2 27) make *anusvāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions, Whitney's note says that AV more often retains *n* TPr 9 20-24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization, Whitney's note (p 225) states that TS retains *n* five times out of six

§923 Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS show *anusvāra* more often than *n*, but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr texts and KS show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr texts, when they change *n* to *anusvāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *ā* to *a*, cf Schroeder, MS, Einleitung, p XXIX. When this shortening of *ā* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s*-aorists (only one of the last).

§924 The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are
agnis t̄ān (MS † *t̄ān*, KS † *t̄ān*, TS TA *agnis t̄ān*) *agre pra* AV TS MS KS TA. The same with *vāyus* (AV † *t̄ān*)
agne devān (MS *devān*, ŚG *devān*) *ihā vaha* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG. The isolated form of ŚG is suspicious (misprint or error?)
aty anyān (VS ŚB *anyān*) *agām nānyān* (VS ŚB *nānyān*) *upagām* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ ApŚ
aihā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS twice† *°nān*, TS twice† *°nān*, once *°nān*) *indro me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā* RV SV TS VS MS KS
idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ MŚ *idavāsmān anu vastām vratena* AV
unnayāmi svān (MS *svan*, AV *svān*) *aham* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
etat tvam deva soma devān (TS KS ApŚ *devān*) *upagāh* VS KS TS ŚB ApŚ *devān upāvṛtah* MS
kṛtvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS KS ApŚ † *anyān*, KŚ *'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ
jambhyanis (KS *°yebhis*) *taskarān* (KS *°rān*) *uta* VS TS KS *jambhābhyām taskaran* (p p *°rān*) *uta* MS
puraḍāśān (MŚ *°śān*, GB Vait *°śān*) *alamkuru* TS GB ŚB Vait KS. ApŚ MŚ

- mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt* TS *neḍ eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat* MS
maṇṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt KS
yān (AV TS MS KS Vait *yān*) *āvaha uśato deva devān* AV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB KŚ Vait
yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta AV *yās ca devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān* etc
 ApMB SMB HG *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān* etc MG
rakṣohāmātrān (VS *'trān*) *apabūdhāmānah* RV AV SV VS TS MS
 KS
vājo devān (MS KS *devān*) *ṛtubhiḥ kalpayāti* VS TS MS KS
sarvān (MS *'van*) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*) TS MS
 AV *śvān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV
sarvān apa yajāmase Kauś *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS † TB TAA ApŚ
so asmān (MŚ *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS MŚ *so 'smān adhipatīn*
kṛnotu ŚŚ
ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV
 §925 Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following
agnih pravivdān (MS *'van*, KS *'vān*) *iha tat* MS KS ApŚ
idāvdān (MS *'vān*) *eṣo asura prajāvdān* RV TS MS KS
iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhir āsīrvān (ApŚ *'vān*) *atharvabhiḥ* KS ApŚ
cakivdān (MŚ *'vān*) *anu manyatām* TS KS MS
pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti RV *pumān enad vayat y udgrnatti* AV
visalyo vānavān (TS MS KS *bā*, MS *'van*, v 1 *'vān*, KS NīlarU
'vān) *uta* VS TS MS KS NīlarU
payasvān (TS TB ApMB *'vān*) *agna āgamam* AV VS TS MS KS
 JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB
pra yo jajñe vidvān (AV *vidvān*) *asya bandhum* (AV *'dhuḥ*) AV TS KS
haviṣmān (KS *'mān*) *astu sūryah* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 [adha *tvīṣmān abhy ojasū* RV SV † (Conc *tvīṣmān* for SV)]
 §926 We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form
savitā jyotir ud ayān (KS *ayān*, MS *ayan*) *ajasram* RV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB

2 Final *īn* and *ūn* before vowels

§927 For this sandhi RPr 289 (4 29) requires *īnr*, *ūnr* The other
 Prs allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than
 RV See APr 2 29 and Whitney's note, TPr 9 20 and Whitney's
 note, VPr 3 140 The variants include very few cases, not enough to
 justify deductions

sarvān (MS *'van*) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*) TS MS
 AB *śvān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV

padā paṇītr (SV *panīn*) *arādhasaḥ* RV SV AV

ṛtūr (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj* RV AV MS TB

ṛtūn (AV *ṛtūr*) *utsrjate vaśi* AV SV TB AŚ ŚŚ

[*horo bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS **yaṇs*) *trīnr uta dyūn* RV TS MS KS AŚ

In this variant the printed text of MS reads *trīnr*, with nasal consonant *n*, instead of *trīnr*. This reading, which the Conc ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīnr*]

3 Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems

asmin brahmany asmin karmany AV *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre*
(ŚŚ adds *'smin karmany*) KS ŚŚ *asmin brahmann . asmin*
karmann (PG *karmany*) TS ApŚ PG *te nah pāntv asmin*
brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmin karmany MS

ātmann (IśāU **ny*) *evānupaśyāt* VS IśāU

śucih śukre ahany ojaśinā (MS *ahann ojaśine*, KS † *śukro ahany ojaśye*,
AŚ *'hany ojaśinām*) TS MS KS AŚ

[*divye dhāmann* (once **ny* acc to Conc) *upahūtah* (once **tā*) TB (both)
But Poona ed *dhāmann* both times]

[*itrāye dhāmany abhy* (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *arayanta* VS TS MahānU
So Conc, but TA MahānU both have *dhāmāny*, acc plur]

One isolated case concerning verb forms

ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ *ajann agnih*) KS ApŚ See VV I p 51

II Final *n* before initial consonants

- §929 Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV

1 Final *n* before *c*

§930 RPr 228 (4 4) requires *ñ*, but numerous exceptions are mentioned, cf 293f (4 32) VPr 3 133 and Apr 2 26 require *ñś*, and so does TPr 5 20f, with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on Apr 1 c says that this rule is universally followed in the mss and text of AV, a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV be excluded from consideration (the Pr in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant. The variants are

acikṭvāñ (AV °vāñś) *cikṭuṣaś cū atra* RV AV
anadvāñś (TS °vāñ) *ca me* VS TS KS *dhenuś cānadvāñś ca* MS MŚ
asmāñś (RV KS *asmāñ*) *cakre mānyasya medhā* RV MŚ KS Most
 mss of MS *asmāñ* (with dental *n*), v 1 of KS *asmāñś*
ghoṣeṇāmīvāñś cātayata (PB °mīvāñ cātayadhvam) TB PB ApŚ
tām arayanś candramasī svadhābhīh MS KS *yām arayanś* (TS ° yañ)
 etc VS TS ŚB
mahah patum papivāñ (AV 20, °vāñ) *cārv annā* RV AV
vajriñ (AV 20, SV *vajriñ*) *citrābhīr ūkībhīh* RV AV SV MS
asmāñ (SV *asmāñ*) *citrābhīr avatād abhiṣṭībhīh* RV SV

2 Final *n* before *t*

§931. The usage fluctuates here also RPr 295 (4 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done So also TPr 6 14 In the few variants found, the RV and TS schools, and KS, generally keep the nasal unchanged On the other hand APr 2 26 and VPr 3 134 require *ns*, tho both allow exceptions The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith, and Maitr texts seem also to favor *ns* But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive Besides the writings *n* and *ns*, a couple of cases of *n* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below, probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*

§932 The following variants occur,

agnir āyusmāñ sa vanaspatībhīr āyusmāñ (PG KS °māñś) *tēnā* (KS *tasyā*) TS KS PG ApMB (in the last with punctuation after *āyusmāñ*)
aśmans (KS *asman*) *te kṣut* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
iharva san tatra sato vo agnayah TB *iharva san* (MŚ *sans*) *tatra santam*
tvāgne TB AŚ MŚ
tasman (Vait MŚ °mins) *tad eno* RV TAA Vait MŚ
tasro bhūmīr dhārayan (MS °yans) *trīnr* (MS text *†trīnr*) *uta dyūn* RV
 TS MS KS AŚ
paśūñś (RV *paśūñ*) *tāñś cakre vāyavyāñ* RV AV VS TA
pūṣan (ŚB TB *pūṣans*) *tava vrate vayam* RV AV VS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
śarman (MS *śarmans*) *te syāma* MS KS TA *tava syāma sarmans*
trivarūtha VS *tava syām śarman trivarūtha* TS
dhāman (AG *dhāman*) *te visvam* RV VS KS AŚ ApŚ AG ŚG
brahmanś (MS KS *brahmāñś*) *tvam* (MŚ *tvam me*) *brahmāñś* VS MS
 KS ŚB MŚ *brahmāñ* (TB °māñ) *tvam rājan brahmāñś* TS TB
 ApŚ (in the last with punctuation after *brahmāñ*)

[*brahman tvam asi* MahānU, acc to Conc *brahman* etc in TA, but the Poona ed. of TA reads *brahman*]

3 Final *n* before *j*

§933 The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ*. This is prescribed by the Prāṭisākhya RPr 228 (4 4), APr 2 11, TPr 5 24, VPr 4 92. For *ñ* the spelling *n̄* occurs very commonly in mss of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV mss, according to Whitney (note to APr 1 c), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed.; Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ*. We find, in fact, *n* in all the AV variants, and also in SV in the two variants recorded there (But in ArS once *ñ*). Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above.

§934 The variants from VS and ŚB, following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ*. Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear, his note on VPr 1 c (ISl 4 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss follow the Prāṭisākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss keep dental *n*, if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS and ŚB on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm on VPr 4 92 quotes as an example of the rule *ayam vājāñ jayatu*, VS 5 37, which Weber prints *vājān*.

§935 According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maitr school text is MŚ 1 6 3 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *grhāñ jugupatam yuvam* with a majority of his mss, but against that which he regards as the best, its reading is *grhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS passage according to Von Schroeder — KS usually reads *ñ*, but once *n* (*yat te asman* etc, below). Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *n̄* (cf. above).

§936 The following are the variants

adyā devāñ (VS *devān*) *juṣṭatamo hi gamyāh* RV VS TS KSA
ahinś ca sarvāñ (TS KS *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS °*ya*) VS TS MS KS
āyusmān (PG ApMB °*māñ*, RVKh VS °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭir* RVKh
 AV VS AG PG ApMB Scheftelowitz reads *āyusmān* for
 RVKh. The mss of PG have corruptly *āyusyam*.

kam aḡaṇ (AV *aḡaṇ*) *janayopanah* RV AV N
garbhah samjāyase punah MS *garbhe saṇ* (VS ŚB *san*, KS *sam-*) j^a p^o
 RV VS TS KS ŚB
taṁ arcīṣā sphūrjayāṇ (AV °*yan*) *jālavedah* RV AV
team etāṇ (AV *etāṇ*) *janarājño dvir daśa* RV AV
te asmin (TS KS *asmiṇ*) *javam ādadkūh* VS TS MS KS ŚB
devān (RV TB *devāṇ*) *jḡdāt sumnaryuh* RV MS ŚB TB
paśyaṇ (AV °*yaṇ*) *janmāni sūrya* RV AV ArŚ N
pitṛṇ (KŚ *pitṛn*) *jīnva* TS KS PB Vait KŚ ApŚ *ojasā pitṛbhyah*
pitṛn jīnva MS
prajāh kṛnvan janayan virūpāh MS *prajā vikṛnvaṇ* (ApŚ *vikurvaṇ*)
janayan virūpam (ApŚ °*pāh*) KS ApŚ
praty ajātān (AV °*tān*, TS KS TA °*tān*) *jālavedo nudasva* AV VS
 VSK TS MS KS TA
māre asman maghavaṇ (SV °*vaṇ*) *jyok kah* RV SV
yaṭ te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KS *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS
yasyās te ghora āsan ju^o VS ŚB *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsaṇ ju*^o TS
 ApŚ Exception in KS
yāns (TA Poona ed *tyās*) *te soma prānāṇis tān* (Poona ed *tān*, MahānU
tān) *juhomī* TA MahānU
virbhṛjāṇ (AV SV °*jan*) *jyotiṣā svah* RV AV SV
vṛtrāni vṛtrahaṇ (AV °*han*) *jahi* RV AV
satyānṛte avapaśyaṇ (AV °*yan*, MS °*yan*) *janānām* RV AV TS MS
 ApMB This is quoted by APR 2 11 as an example of *ñ* before *j*¹
saptarṣiṇ (KŚ *saptarṣiṇ*) *jīnva* KŚ ApŚ
[grhān (MŚ *grhāṇ*, read *grhān*, see above, §935) *jugupatam yuvam* MS
 MŚ]

4 Final *n* before *ś*

§937 Before *ś*, the regular sandhi of *n* requires *ñ*, which however is often written *n*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV and AV. The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*). But in the single variant noted from the YV Samhitās, TS alone has this regular *ñ-ch*, MS and VS keep *ś* unchanged, MS writing *ñ* before it and VS *n*, the sole ms of KSA reads like VS, but von Schroeder emended to *ñ-ch* in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr 4 94. We begin with this variant
ādityāṇ chmaśrubhīh (VS and ms of KSA °*tyāṇ śma*^o, MS °*tyāṇ śma*^o)
 VS TS MS KSA.

asmīñ (AV *asmīñ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV AV
tām nah pūṣaṇ chvatalamām erayasva HG *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV *pūṣaṇ*)
chi° RV AV ApMB
divi ṣaṇ (AV *ṣan*, SV *san*) *chakra ātatah* RV AV SV
maghavañ (AV SV PB TB Conc °*van*, TB Poona ed °*vañ*) *chagdhī*
 RV AV SV PB TB TA ApŚ MahānU
yācchreṣṭhābhīr maghavañ chūra jinva RV *yāvacchreṣṭhābhīr maghavan*
chūra AV
yat te rājañ (AG *rājañ*) *chrtam havih* RV AG ŚG
sūro na rurukvāñ (SV °*vān*) *chatāt mā* RV SV
parārciṣā mūradevāñ (AV °*vāñ*) *chṛnīhi* RV AV
pratyāñcam arkam anayañ (AV °*yan*) *chacībhīh* RV AV
śatam hemanlāñ (AV °*lāñ*) *chatam u vasantān* RV AV N

5 Final *n* before *s*

§938 Before *s*, the insertion of *t* after final *n* is required by APr 2 9 and TPr 5 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr 236 (4 6), cf the divergent views recorded in VPr 4 14f. It is quite common in all texts, likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *ñ* before *s*. Cf Wackernagel I §282. The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *t* in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*, most of them concern *san sam*, in the latter case the preposition *sam* being felt as involved.

brahman (LŚ * *brahman*) *stoṣyāmah praśāstah* KB GB, ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
 Vait LŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ
śaśavān san (MS *sam*) *stūyase* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The
 pp of MS *san*, all samh mss *sam*. The other texts all actually
 read *sant*, except KS *san*.
pumānsam vardhatām mayi ŚG (Conc says that this is an error for
pumān samvar°, but the text is correct, see §97) *pumān sam-*
varatātām mayi PG

jihvā pavitram aśvināsan (TB °*nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS MS KS TB

§939 To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a complete list—in which *t* is alternatively added after final *ñ* before *s*:
pratyāñ (VS TS MS,† ŚB * TB *pratyāñk*) *somo atidrutah* (with var)
 AV VS VSK MS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Poona ed of TB
pratyāñ

prāñ (VS, TB *prāñk*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK ŚB TB ApŚ Again
 Poona ed of TB *prāñ*

6 Final *n* before *p*

§940 The only cases noted concern *nṛnṣ* or *nṛnh* for *nṛn*, since this variation really concerns final *s* before *k* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965

7 Final *n* before *k*

§941 Only a single case has been noted, AV writes *jayam* (*jayan*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc would read *jayan*. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography *samjayan* (AV ed *jayam*) *kṣetrān* AV TS MS KS KŚ

8 Final *n* before *y*

§942 See RPr 287 (4 28), VPr 3 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d
dadhanvān (MS KS *°vān*, VS ŚB TB *°vā*) *yo naryo apsu antaḥ ā*
RV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB

9 Final *n* before *l*

§943 Two variants
agnis tām (VS *tām*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (etc) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
ApŚ SMB *agnis tām asmāt* AV MŚ Inconsistent with
RPr 227 (4 4) and Wackernagel I §231b, the VS reading also
inconsistent with VPr 4 13, which requires nasalized *l*. Cf further
APr 2 35, TPr 5 26. A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities
and was probably pronounced in all texts
eṣa me 'muṣmīn (GB *'muṣmīn*, Gaastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB GB †
2 5 8
[*viṣṇus tryakṣareṇa trīṇi lokān* (VSK *trīṇi imāni lokān*, TS † *trīṇi lokān*)
VS VSK TS]

10 Final *n* before *v*

§944 One variant
puru tvā dāśvān (SV *dāśvān*) *voce* RV SV N Cf RPr 287 (4 28),
APr 2 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d

CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *n*

§945 The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *ṇ* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change, and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *n*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170.)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable, one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittirīya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles.

§947. (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics, or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-*. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to *n*, while Taittirīya texts generally alter to *n*, but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants.

§948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final *r*, Taittirīya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV and MS, which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *n*, and yet, as we have said, Tait texts generally favor lingualization.

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r*.

- *svaṛ na* (TS ApŚ *svaṛ na*) *gharmah* (ApŚ * *gharma*) *svāhā* VS TS KS
 ŚB ApŚ. The same with *jyotih*, *śukrah*, *āryah*, *arkah*, all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.) Only TS has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ.)

svaṛ na (TS *svaṛ na*) *jyotih* RV SV VS TS MS KS

asya sulasya svaṛ na (AŚ ŚŚ *ṇa*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

āśv na (MS MŚ *nā*) *ūrjam* AV MS Vait MŚ

anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS *nu*) RV VS MS KS. The mss of MS read corruptly *nakir nu*, p p *nakih*, *tu*

vratatūr no (TB *no*) MS TB (two variants in the same passage)

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word
pra no naya vasyo acha RV *pra no naya pralaram vasyo acha* RV
pra na (SV MS PB *na*) *dyānṣ* RV AV SV VS TS VSK MS.
 KS PB TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N

- pra na* (SV *no*) *indo* RV SV
pra nah (SV *nah*) *pīṣva* RV SV
pra nu (TA ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no*, read *nu*) *vocam-ṛikituṣe janāya*
 RV TA SMB ApMB Kauś PG HG MG Jorgensen reads
nu for SMB, but with *v* *l nu*, which should undoubtedly be read
 in accord with the usage of SV texts
pra no (also, *no*) *jāyanām muthundāni rūpaśah* Kauś (both)
pra no (TS † JUB *no*) *jīvātave suva* VS. TS KS ŚB MŚ JUB Conc
 wrongly *no* for TS 5 5 7 5 Note JUB *no*, contrary to SV usage
pra no (TB *no*) *navyebhus* RV MS KS TB
pra no (AV TS *no*) *yachatu aryamā* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
pra no (AV TS *no*) *yacha* (KS *rāṣva*) *viśaspate* (AV *viśām*°, TS
bhuvas°, VS ŚB *sahasrajāt*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
parainān (AV °*nān*) *devah savitā dadātu* RV AV
pari nah (SV *nah*) *śarmayanīyā* RV SV
pari no (SV *no*) *aśvam aśvavit* RV SV
pari no (VS MS *no*) *rudrasya* VS TS MS KS TB *pari no heṭi*
rudrasya RV VSK *pari no hedo* RV
alaś cid indra na (SV *na*) *upa* RV SV ŚŚ
indra enam (KS *enam*) *prathamo adhyatṣṭhal* RV VS TS KS
indra enam (AV *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV TB ApŚ
sam indra no (AV MS KS Kauś *no*) *manasā* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB ŚŚ KŚ Kauś
sumitrā (etc) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA
 MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh ApŚ KŚ MŚ
uruṣyā no (MS *no*) *aghāyatah samasmāt* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ N
tebhūh (RV also *lena*) *śomābhi* (TA °*bhī*) *rakṣa nah* (TA *nah*) RV
 (bis) TA
śikṣā no (TS *no*!) RV AV VS TS KS AB Note that TS per-
 versely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency
devīh (AV *dai*°, KS *trayīṣ*) *ṣad urvīr uru nah* (only RV *nah*, AV *ed*
nah, but read *nah*, see Whitney's note, KS † *nas*) *kṛnota* RV AV TS
 KS ApMB
asthūri nau gārhapatyam MS KS *tayor* (ApŚ *tayor nāv*) *asthūri*
 (MŚ °*ri nau*) *gārḥ*° ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *asthūri nau gārhapat-*
tyāni Kauś *asthūri nau* (VSK *no*, ŚŚ *no*) *gārhapatyāni*
 VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ *asthūri no* (TS TB *no*, KS *nau*, MŚ [van
 Gelder] †*nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* RV TS MS KS TB MŚ In
 the first-quoted version, the two best mss of MS read *nau*, in
 accord with MS usage, but the MŚ form of it (*tayor* etc) has *nau*
 according to all Knauer's mss

§951 (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV just as in simple words Wackernagel I §170

§952 We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n-* compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions, Wackernagel I §169). When SV shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*, and the *n* of *nāsadya* is twice lingualized, once in VS and once in MS (I despite the tendency of MS to avoid lingualization)

abhi pra nonumo (SV *no*°) RV SV SV

abhi pra nonuwur (SV *nonawur*) RV SV

tvām abhi pra nonumah (SV *no*°) RV SV KB

pra nāmāni (TS *nā*°) RV TS MS KS

atharnam jarimā nayet HG *yatharnam jarase nayāt* AV

tasmād vār nāma (TS *nāma*) AV TS MS KS

gomad ūṣu nāsadyā (VS *nā*°) RV VS AŚ

nāsadyā (MS *nā*°) *bhiṣajāśvinā* VS MS TB. Preceded in all by

bhiṣaṇ, which may be meant for part of this *pāda*

punar āgāh punarnava (AV *°nava*, and *°navah*) RV AV (bis)

uṣṭro ghr̥nīvān vārdhr̥nāsas (MS *ghr̥ṇāvān vārdhr̥nāsas*) VS MS

grāhrah śitakakṣi vārdhr̥nāsas (KS *ms vārdhr̥nāsas*, ed *em vārdhr̥*°)

TS KSA

sahasranūthah (SV *°nūthah*) *padaviḥ kavīnām* RV SV

§953 Of the rest, in which *n* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases

sādhyebhyaś carmamnam (VS *°mnam*) VS VSK TB. The form *°mna* occurs in RV

agne deva panibhir vīyamānah (MS MŚ *°nah*, VS ŚB *guhnyamānah*

KS *idhyamānah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ TB

abhūr āpinām (HG *°nām*, v l *°nām*) ApMB HG

dyaṭadyubhir namasyair vyānā MS *mitaṣṭubhir namasyair vyānā* RV

devaśrīh śrīmanāh (VSK TS *°nāh*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

agneḥ purīṣavāhanah (MS *purīṣya*°, VS † ŚB † *°vāhanah*) VS TS MS

KS ŚB

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi, in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *n* dental
suṣumnah (TS N °*nah*) *sūryarakṣah* VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS

N there is thought of the simple *sumnah*

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound, in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized
amṛṇmayam (ApŚ *amṛn°*) TB ApŚ

FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *t*

§955 On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules RPr 349 requires *ṣ* regularly before *tṵā* and *te* (but cf 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr 2 84, 85 also makes *ṣ* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions, according to Whitney, *ṣ* is commoner in AV VPr 3 75, 76 (cf 79ff) likewise makes *ṣ* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr 6 5 allows the change to *ṣ* in only a few specified cases.

§956 Wackernagel I §286b says that the change to *ṣ* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh kennen solches *ṣ* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen'. This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV shows *ṣ* for RV *s*, not before pronouns. These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns.

dhanuṣ tanvantī (RV *dhanus ta°*) *paunṣyam* RV SV

uṣā apa svasus tamah (SV *†svasuṣ tamah*) RV AV SV AŚ

§957 All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns (Cf *agneṣ tṵā tejasā sūryasya* MG, to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows *agneṣ tejasā sūryasya* MS KS AB TB TA). They show that the schools of RV, AV, VS, and TS follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhya to their respective Samhitās. To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV, and that is exceptional in showing *s*, but the RV school texts show 12 cases of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*. AV shows 4 of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*, and its school texts 3 to 0. VS has 17 to 2, and other Vāj texts (incl VSK) 22 to 1. TS, on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases). This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s*, but KS also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ṣ*. SV itself has

only one instance (of *ṣ*), and its school texts have 2 of each MS is as unanimous for *ṣ* as TS is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ and MG) Summarizing the schools of RV, AV, VS, and MS regularly write *ṣ*, that of TS always, and KS usually, *s*, the variants from SV are indecisive

§958 There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns
anśur-ankuṣ te (TS. KS ApŚ °*kuṣ te*) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS. TS MS

KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ

agnis te 'gram (MŚ *agnis te agram*) TS MŚ

agnis te tanvam MŚ *agnis te tanuvam* (KS *tanvam*) TS KS TB

ApŚ *agnis te twacam* VS ŚB KŚ

agnis te tejo AŚ MŚ *agnis te tejo* TS TB JB ApŚ

agnis te (TS *agnis te*) 'dhipatiḥ VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnis tvābhi (TS *agnis tvā*°) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnis tvā (TS KS *agnis tvā*) *śrīnātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnis tvā (MS *agnis tvā*) *hwayati* TS MS KS TB

agnis tñan agre MS *agnis tñan* (AV *tñan*, TS TA [but not KS t])

agnis tñan *agre* AV TS KS TA

agnes tvā (KS ApŚ *agnes tvā*) *tejasā sādāyānu* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
 KŚ MŚ

agnes tvā (TS KS *agnes tvā*) *mātrayā* TS MS KS MŚ

agnes tvāsyena (TS ApŚ *agnes tvā*°) VS VSK TS GB ŚB KB
 ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

aditiṣ te (TS KS TA ApŚ °*tiṣ te*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ
 KŚ MŚ

aditiṣ tvā (TS KS ApŚ [but not MŚ t]) °*tiṣ tvā*) VS TS MS KS
 ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ

avatatyā dhanuṣ tvam (TS KS NīlarU °*nuṣ tvam*) VS TS MS KS
 MŚ NīlarU

gopāya mā (VāDh *mām*) *śevadhīs te* (N °*dhiṣ te*) VāDh VīDh N
tābhiṣ tvam (KS TA *tābhiṣ tvam*) *ubhayābhiḥ samvīdānah* MS KS TA
tebhiṣ tvam putram janaya ŚG *lasi tvam putram* (*putrān*) *vindasva*
 AV ApMB

dyaus tvā (ŚŚ *dyaus te*) *pitā prthivī mātā* AV ŚŚ

prajāpatiṣ tvā sādāyatu VS ŚB MS MŚ *prajāpatiṣ tvā sād*°
 TS TB TA ApŚ KS

prajāpates tvā (MŚ °*tes tvā*) *prānena* TB ApŚ MŚ

prabhoṣ te (SV °*bhoṣ te*) *tsatah* RV SV

bahiṣ te (AV KS *bahiṣ te*) *astu* AV TS KS ApŚ

bṛhaspates tvā (TS TB °*tes tvā*) . VS VSK TS ŚB TB

<i>brhaspatiḥ tvā</i> (TS KS ApŚ ° <i>tiḥ tvā</i>) <i>sumne</i>	VS TS MS KS ŚB
ApŚ MŚ	
<i>brhaspatiḥ tvā</i> (SMB HG ° <i>tiḥ tvā</i>) <i>niryunaktu</i>	AG ŚG SMB HG
MG	
<i>brhaspatiḥ tvā</i> (TA ° <i>tiḥ tvā</i>) <i>vānavat</i>	MS TA
<i>brhaspatiḥ tvā</i> (TS ApŚ ° <i>tiḥ tvā</i>) <i>sādayatu</i>	TS MS ApŚ MŚ
<i>brhaspatiḥ tvopasīdatu</i> (TA ApŚ ° <i>tiḥ tvā</i>)	MS TA ApŚ MŚ
<i>manoḥ tvā</i> MS KŚ MŚ <i>manas tvā</i> KS TB ApŚ	
<i>varūtrīḥ tvā</i> VS ŚB <i>varutris tvā</i> KS	
<i>vāyus tātān</i> (MŚ <i>tān</i> , KS <i>tān</i> , TS TA <i>vāyus tān</i>) <i>agre</i>	AV TS KS
TA MŚ	
<i>vāyus te</i> (TS <i>vāyus te</i>) <i>'dhipatih</i>	VS TS MS
<i>vāyus te</i> (TS <i>vāyus te</i>) <i>vājīn yuñ</i>	TS KSA
<i>vāyus tvābhīpātu</i> (TS <i>vāyus tvā</i>)	VS TS MS KS ŚB
<i>śwebhur arcibhiḥ tvam</i> (TS ° <i>bhiḥ tvam</i>)	VS TS MS KS ŚB
<i>santus tvā</i> (AG ŚG ° <i>tuḥ tvā</i>) <i>prasava</i>	VS ŚB KŚ AG ŚG
<i>svadhitiḥ te</i> (ŚG ° <i>tiḥ te</i>) <i>pitā</i>	VS ŚG ApMB

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

§969 Here the rules of the Prātiśākhya (RPr 260 [4 14] ff, APr 2 62ff, TPr 8 23-35, VPr 3 10f, 20ff, especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus in compounds *s* (or *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *h* (or *upadhmāṇīya* and *jīhvāmūlīya*). But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule.

§960 European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf Macdonell 78 2, c). Wackernagel I §286c, β, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an *āmredita* compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible.

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an *āmredita*, and very few others concerning compounds. They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words, but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately. The sole *āmredita* noted is the following *paruṣah-paruṣas* (KS *paruṣas-paruṣas*, TS TA MahānU *paruṣah-paruṣah*) *pari* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA MahānU. Note that in the VS and MS schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases, and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the *Prātisākhya*s, namely we find *h* in the prior member, *s* in the last member VPr 3 36 mentions this as an exception, likewise TPr 8 33, which states that *h* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *ṣ* or *dh*, covers the case, this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences

§962 The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*)

sādyahkṛt ApMB *sadyahkṛt* ŚG

śociṣkeṣam (MS * *śocih*°) *puruṣṛiya* RV VS TS MS (both) KS

upahūto bhūyaṣi haviṣkarane (MS *havih*°, but p p *haviṣ*°) MS AŚ ŚŚ

bhūyaṣi haviṣkarana upahūtaḥ (TB * °*lā*) TS TB ŚB

āyukṛd āyuhpatnī ApŚ *āyukṛd āyuspatnī* AV

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the *Prātisākhya*s, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *h*. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The Taittirīya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *h*, especially after *a*-vowels, but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maṭṛāyaniya school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *h* after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>s</i> (dental)
RV	7	9	3	12	
RV school	5	12	1	2	
SV	5	4	3	2	
SV school	1	3	1	3	
AV	4	7	1	8	
AV school	0	4	0	1	
VS	3	15	5	7	
VS school	3	16	4	8	
TS	21	2	2	4	
TS school	24	7	16	6	2
MS	6	15	10	5	1
MS school	2	2	5	1	1
KS	9	9	5	7	1
Others	0	2	0	1	

	After a-vowels		After non-a-vowels		
	h	s	h	ʃ	s (dental)
Total RV school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS school	45	98	38	57	3

1 The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

§964 Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittirīyas, the latter is nearly unanimous for *h*. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f), the following occur
somah (SV *somas*) *patī rayīnām* RV AV SV

sa no dwā sa rīṣah (VS MS *rīṣas*) *pātu naktam* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS TB

śam nas (RV *nah*) *karato asvinā* RV TB ApŚ

manūdāsa śam ca nas (TS *nah*) *kṛdhī* VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N

devīh (*dawīh*) *śad uru nah* (*nah*) *kṛnota* RV AV TS ApMB

trayīṣ śad uru īnas kṛ° KS

uru kṣayāya nas (TS *nah*) *kṛdhī* RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
 AŚ ŚŚ

varvas (RV °*vah*) *kṛnvan* RV SV

ayam no agnir varvas (TS KS AŚ ApŚ °*vah*) *kṛnotu* VS TS MS KS
 ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

urvī rodasī varvas (TS KS °*vah*) *kṛ°* TS MS KS

divah (VS *divas*) *parjanyaḍ* VS TS MS KS

divah prthwyāh pary antarikṣāt TS KS TB ApŚ *divas* etc RV AV
 MS

divah prthwyāh pary oja udbhṛtam VS TS KSA *divas* etc RV AV
 Vait Kauś

divah prṣṭham svar (*suvar*) TS MS KS *divas* etc AV VS ŚB

divas (SV *divah*) *prṣṭham adhi* RV SV

divas (SV *divah*) *prṣṭhāny* AV SV

divah (RV *divas*) *prṣṭham* (PB °*the*) . RV PB TA ApŚ

abhi priyā divas padā (SV *divah kavīh*) RV SV

agne tvam sūktavāg divas (TS TB *divah*) *prthwyoh* TS (fragment)
 MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

- parameṣṭhi tvā sādāyatu divah* (VS ŚB *divas*) *prṣṭhe*. VS TS MS
KS ŚB ApŚ
ṣrñāhi viśvatah prati RV *ṣrñāhi viśvatas pari* SV Add to VV I §275
girir na viśvatas (SV °*lah*) *prṥhuh* RV AV SV
yathā nah śreyasas (TS °*sah*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ
yathā no vasyasas (TS °*sah*, LŚ *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB
LŚ
viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah (VS † ŚB PG † °*bhyas*, MS *danṣṭrābhyas*)
pāhi (TS TB *pāta*, PG *paripāhi*) VS TS MS ŚB TB
TA PG
yeṣām apsu sadas (TS ApMB *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS TS ŚB NīlarU
ApMB † 2 17 6c
mitrās (RV *mitrah*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV SV
prṥhivyāḥ sampṛcas (TS TB ApŚ °*cah*, VS ŚB *samspr̥cas*) *pāhi* VS
TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ AŚ
nānā hi vām devahatam sadas (TB ApŚ *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS MS KS
AB ŚB TB ApŚ AŚ
diva oṣadhayas (TS °*yah*) *pari* RV VS TS MS
ubhe ca no (etc) *anhasah* (MS ŚB † AŚ °*sas*) *pātām* (TB Conc
syātām, Poona ed *anhasah spātām*), AŚ text, *†anhasa syātām*)
MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
indrah (ŚŚ *indras*) *patiḥ* AV AA ŚŚ
idāyās (ApŚ *idāyāḥ*) *padam* AV AŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB Vait Kauś
apah (TS TB ApŚ *apas*) *pīnva* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ
MŚ Note the perverseness of the Tait texts in reading *s*, contrary
to their usual rule, against all other texts!
agne trātar ṛtas (SV *ṛtah*) *kaviḥ* RV SV
pūṣādhvanah (VS KS ŚB °*nas*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
prānasya tvā tanuvah (MS *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS TA
praitu brahmanas (MŚ °*nah*) *patnū* TS ApŚ MŚ
ṣan morvīr anhasas (ŚŚ °*sah*) *pāntu* ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

2 The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

§965 Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance. In general, however, *ṣ* prevails. The dominance of *h* in the Tait school is less marked, TS itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ*. More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr school this time favors *h*, tho after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s*. Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS alone shows *ṣ*, other texts *h*. These all concern the single form *nṛn*, acc plur of *nṛ*, the vowel *ṛ* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāsika* (cf §940 above)

hotā yakṣad uśāsānaktā nṛnh (MS *nṛnṣ*) *patibhyo* MS KS TB
hotā yakṣan nārāṣansam nṛśastam nṛṣṣpranetram (TB *nṛnh*) MS TB
nṛnh (MS *nṛnṣ*) *pāhi* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB

§966 Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants, both times before a form of root *kr* (does the form *skr* exercise an influence here?)

suprpalā oṣadhīṣ (ApŚ °*dhīh*) *kṛdhī* MS KS ApŚ MŚ
śam agnir agnibhīṣ (RV °*bhīh*) *karat* RV TB ApŚ

§967 Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants

dyauh (RV *dyauṣ*) *pituh* *prthivi mātar adhruk* RV MS TB
dyauh pitā TB ApŚ *dyauṣ pitā* AV
dyauh prṣṭham prthivi śarīram ŚŚ 10 17 4 (as two separate mantras)
dyauṣ prṣṭham antarikṣam ŚB KŚ
upahūto dyauṣ (TB ApŚ *dyauh*) *pitā* VS ŚB TB ApŚ
upa mām dyauṣ (TB ApŚ *dyauh*) *pitā hwayatām* VS ŚB TB ApŚ
jyotiṣ (MS LŚ *jyotih*) *paśyanā* (MS ° *tā*) *uttaram* RV MS KS ChU
 LŚ

jyotiṣ (SV °*tih*) *paśyanā vāsaram* RV SV KS
yas tāni veda sa pituṣ (VS and most mss of AV *pituh*) *pitāsai* AV VS
yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ (TA *savituh*) *pitāsai* RV AV TA N *yas tad*
veda savituh (MahānU *sa pituh*) *pitāsai* TA MahānU
aham id dhi pituṣ (MG *pituh*) *pari* RV AV SV Vait MG
sa idhāno (KS ms *edh*°, *ed* emends) *vasuṣ* (MS *vasuh*) *kavh* RV SV
 VS TS MS KS

haviṣ (HG MG *havih*) *kṛvantah parivatsarinam* (HG † SMB † °*nām*,
 MG °*yam*) AV SMB ApMB HG MG

yasya dvārā manuṣ (SV *manuh*) *pitā* RV SV
mṛtyoh (VSK °*yoṣ*) *pāhi* VS VSK MS KS ŚB MŚ
citrah śiśuh (MS *śiśuṣ*) *pari* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
āyoh patmane svāhā KS *āyoṣ patwane svāhā* ApŚ
āvīṣ (MS *āvih*) *kṛnuṣva dāvīdāny agne* RV VS TS MS KS
apālām triṣ (ApMB MG *trih*) *pū*° RV AV JB ApMB MG
parne vo vasatiṣ (TS MS °*tih*) *kṛtā* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
nih kravyādām nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS *nīṣ kravyādām sedha*
 VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *nīṣ kravyādām anīnaśat* RV AV MG

[*svēduṣ* (AV °*duh*, but most mss, SPP, and Whitney °*duṣ*) *kilāyam madhumān utāyam* RV AV AB ApS]

ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *k* AND *p*

§968 Among the variants occur only three pādas belonging here, and they all concern the word *svarpati*. This occurs in that form in RV (three times), AV and KS (once each), while in SV (three times) and PB (once) it occurs in the form *svahpati*. This accords with RPr 258 (4 12), which requires *sva* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *h*). APr ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr does not treat. The pādas are

yuvam hi sthah svarpati (SV PB *svahpati*) RV SV PB

dātrasyāgne svarpatih (SV *svahpatih*) RV SV KS

svahpatir yadī vṛdhe SV *svarpatim yad im vṛdhe* RV AV

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969 In this case RPr 251, 253 allows either *h* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ*. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Muller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *nīṣahamāno*, Muller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *nīṣṣah*^o in accordance with the Pr rule. VPr 3 8 f quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them, according to Weber the mss of both VS. and VSK generally write *h*. APr 2 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss of AV generally write *h*, and the edition usually follows them. TPr 9 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss of TS generally write *h*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§970 The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *h*, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf his *Einleitung*, p XII), the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS, and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all), but in several of these Müller prints *h* instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl Ind edition), TB also

retains the sibilant three times, but in all of these the Poona ed. has *h* ApMB also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii), but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write *h*. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him, and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971 The following variants have been noted

nihṣahamāno (SV *nṣṣa*°) *yamate nāyate* RV SV On the RV reading see the preceding paragraph

vakṣahsu (RV *vakṣassu*, but Muller °*hsu*) *rukmaḥ upakṣṛiyānāh* RV MS TB

vardhanam puruṇṣṣidhe (SV °*nṣṣidhe*) RV SV

pṛṣutūṛṣu śravassu (AV and Muller's RV °*hsu*) *ca* RV AV

vṛṣā na kruddhah palayad rajassu (AV and Muller's RV °*hsu*) *ā* RV AV

haviṛ haviṣṣu vandyah (SV *haviṣu* †*vandyah*) RV SV

kṛiyanta (TB *pṛiyā ta*) *ā barhah* (KS † TB °*hs*, but TB Poona ed °*hḥ*) *sīda* RV AV KS TB

uto aranyānāh (TB °*nis*, but Poona ed °*nḥ*) *sāyam* RV TB

upa nah (KS † TB *nas*, but TB Poona ed *nah*) *sūnavo girah* RV SV VS KS TB

īdam devānām īdam u nah (KS *īdam nas*) *soha* TS MS KS TB ApS MS

satyā eṣām (AG *etā*) *āśiṣah* (ApMB °*ṣas*) *santru* VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB HG

FINAL *s* BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972 RPr 255 (4 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr 3 12 TPr 9 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect, the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss of TS generally follow it. APr contains no such prescription, but the AV mss observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr 2 40). This appears to be not quite true, cf. the variants *hotrā-vidah stomataṣṣāso* AV 18 3 47b, and *madhah ścotanty* AV 20 88 3d.

§973. None of the Prātiśākhya authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant, but the comm. on TPr 9 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then

1 Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions, and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht's edition of RV follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd, but Muller's edition always prints *h*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey's edition of SV is apparently not wholly consistent of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *h*. On AV see above, §972. In TS, Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s*, at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS always prints *h*, but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol 1, p XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss, which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s*. On MŚ and MG cf. Knauer, Einleitung to MG, p xxxviii, it appears that the mss of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *h* generally, among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas te drapsa skandati* MŚ 2 4 3 29a. The mss of KS usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant, in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS, quoting its readings with *h* like those of MS.

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. ŚŚ likewise shows a number of cases of *h* where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG of the mantra *mā no hnsēh* (*hnsē*) *sthavram*, with and without *h*, we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v.l. to either.

§976. [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *h* in MS, MŚ, and MG against the evidence of their mss.

Likewise in the case of KS there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS, MŚ, MG, or KS, it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *h*, and that of KS reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *h*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Muller's edition in every case reads *h*—I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded—[F E]

§977. The list of variants concerning final *s* before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows

pra tad viṣṇu (TB Poona ed *viṣṇuh*, AV † *viṣṇu*, ŚŚ [prattika] † *pra tad viṣṇur iti*] *stavate* RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ ŚŚ NrpU

ya (ŚŚ *yah*) *strīnām* VS TS KSA ŚŚ

viṣṇo (TB *viṣṇoh*) *stupo* (*stūpo*) 's VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

viṣṇo (TB *viṣṇoh*) *sthānam asi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

samsrāvabhāgā (or, *samsrava*°, TB °*bhāgāh*) *stheṣā* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ

huta (TB *hutah*) *stokah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

hotrāvinda (AV °*vidah*, TB °*vṛdha*, Poona ed °*vṛdhah*) *stomataṣṭāso* RV AV MS TB

vipṛca (TB Poona ed 1 3 3 6 °*cah*) *stha* VSK KS ŚB TB (both readings) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The same with *sampṛca*

andha sthāndho VS ŚB KŚ *ambha* (ApŚ *ambhah*) *sthāmbho* . TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ MG

ā na (ŚŚ *nah*) *stuta* RV ŚŚ

āyu stha ApŚ *āyuh stha* TB

ṛtava (TB °*vah*) *stha* VS KS ŚB TB

udravanta (AB °*tah*) *stuta* (*studhvam*) AB GB Vait

dva (TB *divah*) *skambha*° VS VSK KS TS ŚB TB ApŚ

pra va (KB ŚŚ *vah*) *spad* RV KB ŚŚ

prokṣtiā (TB Conc °*tā* and °*tāh*, Poona ed both times °*tāh*) *stha* VS TS MS KS TB ŚB KŚ MŚ

balavijñāya (SV °yah) *sthavirah* . RV AV SV VS TS MS KS
brhadbhar vājar (TB Poona ed *vājah*) *sthavrebhar* RV MS KS TB
brhaspati (TB Conc °ti and °tīh, Poona ed both times °tīh) *stotram* VS
 MS KS TB
madhva (AV °vah) *ścotanty* RV AV
mā no hinsīh (and, *hinsī*) *sthavram* ŚG (both)
mānta (ApŚ *māntah*) *sthur* RV AV AB JB ApŚ MŚ
mā na stena RV KS *mā va* (TB Poona ed *va* and *vah*) *stena*
 RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
yas te drapsa (ŚŚ Vait *drapsah*, MŚ *drapsa*) *skandati* RV VS TS
 KS GB ŚB Vait MŚ ŚŚ
ye devā devasuva (TB °vah) *stha* TS TB
vāyava (TB °vah) *stha* VS TS MŚ KS GB ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
upāyava (TB °vah) *stha* TS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ
prānah sthah TB *prāna sthah* ApŚ
stokā (TB Poona ed *stokāh*) *ścotanti* RV MS KS AB TB
subhūtakṛta stha ApŚ *suhūtakṛtah stha* AŚ
sūryavacasa (TB Poona ed °sah) *stha* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ
gira (ApŚ *girah*) *stomāsa īrate* RV AV SV MS ApŚ
cakṣu (TB *cakṣuh*) *sthaś* TB ApŚ
cita (TB *citah*) *stha* TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
cita (ApŚ once out of four times, and TA twice out of three times acc
 to Conc , all three times acc to Poona ed , *citah*) *stha pari*°
 VS TS KS TA ApŚ KŚ
prati tvā diva (TB *divah*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB Poona ed *†vetu*) TS TB
[trinave †maruta (Conc °tah for VS) *stutāh* (°tam) VS MS KS]
[dhruvam as dhruvata (Conc °tah for ApMB) *stutam* ApMB HG]

2 Final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978 Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātisākhya, require *h* . In KS, just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant, again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS as reading *visarga* like other texts . The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB , see Winternitz's Introduction, p xlviii . It appears, however, that the mss of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently . Especially is this true of AV , see Whitney's note on APr 2 86, and on his Translation of AV , 6 121 1 . The Bibl Ind editions of TB and TA show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print *h* in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder *syonā* (for *syonāh*, so ApŚ) *syonena ghytena mā samukṣata*, MS 4 2 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of *h* are rare and sporadic.

§979 [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣā* rules, viz. 1. KS always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance — 2. Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text — F. E.]

§980 The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh *svapna svapnābhikaranena* AV. The latter is to be understood with *svāpna(h)* nom., not voc., Edgerton, AJP 35 438ff.

medasah (VSK °sa) *svāhā* VS VSK MS TB

yā devy asīṣṭake prānadā cakṣurdās (ApŚ °dā) *śrotadā dyaurdās* (ApŚ °dā) *svardāh* KS ApŚ *yā devy asīṣṭaka dyurdāh cakṣurdāh śrotadāh* MS

samjñānam nah (TB *na*, but Poona ed *nah*) *svē*° RVKh AV MS KS TB

ādityebhyah preṣya mahasvasarasya (MŚ *mahah sva*°) ŚB MŚ ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and pw, Addendum to Vol 5, s v *mahasvasara*.

avdahanah (TB °la) *śrapayata* TB ApŚ MŚ

uśasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat ApŚ *uśasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat* TB Conc., but Poona ed as ApŚ

jyog ajitā (MŚ *jivā*, SMB *jītā*, but Jorgensen *ajitā*) *ahatāh* (SMB °tā) *syāma* TS KS MŚ PG SMB

śrotapāh (AŚ °pā) *śrotam* TS MS AB AŚ

sva (TS ApŚ *sva*) *na* (TS ApŚ *na*) *gharmah* (ApŚ * °ma) *svāhā* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ (both)

stutah (TB *stuta*, but Poona ed *stutah*) *śravasyann* RV MS KS TB *syonāh* (MS °nā) *syonena ghytena mā samukṣata* MS ApŚ

supānīh (TA °nī, but Poona ed °nīh, ŚŚ *subāhīh*) *svaṅgurih* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ

cittīh (TA °tī, but Poona ed °tīh) *sruk* MS TA ŚŚ MŚ

paro martah parah (ApŚ all mss., and TB Conc. *para*, but TB Poona ed *parah*) *śvā* VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ MŚ

pary āvarte duṣvapnyāt (KŚ *duḥṣva*°, v 1 *duṣva*°) AV KŚ. See Whitney's note on 6 121 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV mss.

duṣvapnyam duritam nūh (AV **nī*) *śvaśmat* AV (both) Whitney, however, would read *nūh* in both places—with the Prātiśākhya, but against nearly all the mss
duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed *duṣṣvap^o duruṣṣaha*) TA *duḥvapnahan duruṣvaha* MahānU Cf preceding two
aślonā (AV comm *aśro^o*) *aṅgair ahrutāh* (TA *aślonāṅgair ahr̥tā*, Poona ed *ahrutāh* with v l *ā* *svarge* AV TA
enuṣā sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text *ānāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AS *'ham asma*) TB AS *sapatnāh*, nom pl masc (!), seems to be intended in both

INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prātiśākhya (RPr 318 (5 1) ff, APr 2 96 ff, TPr 6 1 ff, VPr 3 58 ff) The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204–7 In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *i* or *u* vowel, TS reads *ṛkṣama* for *ṛksama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *i* or *u* vowel occurred (§984) *Visarga* after *i* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration Wackernagel I p 237, bottom

§982 In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s* In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV, but becomes common in the other Samhitās (Wackernagel I §205a), two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV *s* (§983) The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds Here the conditions are confused the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206) We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies, earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV, but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207), accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV) *ṣ*, but the reverse is also found (§987) Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompound words, in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language, yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB substituted for *s* of RV (§988)

§983 The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987.

vy astabhñā (VS ŚB *askabhñā*, MS *aṣkabhñā*, KS *aṣtabhñā*, TS *askabhñād*, TA *aṣtabhñād*) *rodasī* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB, TA

ād id dhotāram ny asādayanta (TB *aṣā*) RV VS TB

abhy aṣṭhām (TS KS ApŚ *aṣṭhād*, MS *asthām*) *visvāḥ prtanā arāṇi* AV TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ

lena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ TS KS *lena devā vy asahanla śatrūn* AV *yasmād bhīṣā nyasadaḥ* (ŚŚ *nyasadaḥ*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ

§984 Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular. Four of them contain the Rigvedic words *prtanāṣaḥ* (*ṣāḥ*, *ṣāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular *ṣaḥ* etc. Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show. The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūṣaḥ*, *bhūrūṣaḥ*, *abhīṣaḥ* etc.—The only other case contains the TS form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anuṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b.

saṁstup (TS *saṣṭup*) *chandaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ā vīram prtanāṣaḥam (SV *ṣaḥam*) RV AV SV

taṁ agne prtanāṣaḥam (TS *ṣaḥam*) RV TS

prtanāṣāhyāya (TB *ṣāhyāya*) *ca* RV AV VS TB

uccairvāṇi prtanāṣāt (HG *ṣāham*) RVKh HG

§985 Twice in the same passage of TS occurs the stem *ṛkṣama*, for *ṛksama* of the others, this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf. Wackernagel I p. 237, top).

jaḡalyā ṛksamam (TS *ṛkṣamam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

ṛksamāc (TS *ṛkṣamāc*) *chukrah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§986 The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong. In GB 1.5.25d, quoted in Conc. as *viskandham enam vidhṛtam prajāsu*, Gastra reads *viṣkandham visṛtam*.

abhiṣvīro abhiṣatvā (KS *ṣatvā*) *sahojāḥ* (AV MS † KS *sahojit*) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS. Many mss. of AV, followed by the comm.

and SPP's ed., also read *abhiṣatvā*.

stotā me goṣakhā (SV *goṣakhā*) *syāt* RV AV SV

prthivīṣadam (MS *prthivī*°, VS † *ṣadam*) *tvāntarīkṣasadam* (VS † adds,

divṣadam devasadam) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

deva santāḥ susāmitram (ApŚ *suṣāv*°) PB KŚ ApŚ

rayasthāno (AV °*ṣthāno*) *rayim asmāsu dhehi* RV AV
suṣamuddho (RV *suṣa*°) *na ā vaha* RV SV PB LŚ
suṣamuddho (KS TB *suṣa*°) *varenyah* VS MS KS TB
suṣamuddham (TB *suṣa*°) *varenyam* VS TB
suṣadam (ŚŚ *suṣatya*) *id gavām* AV ŚŚ
ye triṣaptāh (MS *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV MS
triṣaptāso (TB *tris*°) *marutah* AV TB
utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhanam VS *utkūlanikūlābhyām triṣṭhanam* TB
amba nuṣpara (TS ApŚ *nuṣvara*, KS *nuvara*, MS *nuṣmara*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB ApŚ In VS ŚB divide *nuṣ-para*, the rest belong
 here
somanetrebhyo upariśadbhyo (VSK °*śadbhyo*) VS VSK ŚB
ye devāḥ somanetrā upariśado (VSK °*śado*) VS VSK ŚB *ye*
devā upariśado (KS ° *das*) MS KS
vrajam gacha goṣṭhānam (VS ŚB TB *goṣṭhānam*, but TB Poona ed
 °*sth*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
kṣṇagrīvāḥ śitīkakṣo 'ñjīśakthas (MS °*śakthas*) *ta andrāgnāḥ* VS MS
añjīśakthāya (KSA † °*śakthāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA
duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣṣaha*) TA *duḥvap-*
nahan duruṣvahā MahānU

§987 Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the
 copula In one or two of these *s* of RV is replaced by *ṣ* in a later text
druhaḥ pāśān (TS KS *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV TS MS
 KS

apo su (MS *ṣu*) *nyakṣa* RV MS

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction
kṛdhī ṣu (TS *su*) *asmān* RV TS MS KS
prati śma (SV *sma*) *deva riṣataḥ* (SV *ri*°) RV SV MS KS TB
prati śma (AV *sma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV *jahi*) RV AV
astu hi śmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te kuṣṣminn avayāḥ* RV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB

vayam ghā te api śmasi (SV *smasi*) RV SV
anupūrvam yalamānā yati ṣha (AV *etha*) RV AV
divi ṣaṇ (AV *ṣaṇ*, SV *san*) *chakra ūtataḥ* RV AV SV
divi sad (RV *ṣad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV SV VS
ūti ṣa (SV *sa*) *bṛhato divah* RV SV
pari śya svāno akṣāḥ RV *pari śya svāno akṣarat* SV cf *pari śya*
svāno avayam RV

tasmād āpo anu ṣṭhana (TS *sthana*) AV TS MS KS

§988 Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncom-

pounded words Note that in the first a later text introduces *ṣ* where RV has *s*

trīṇa śatā trī sahasrāṇy (TB *ṣa*^a) *agnim* RV VS TB .

ye apsu śadāṇsi (KS '*psu śadāṇsi*) *cakrīre* MS KS *teṣāṃ apsu śadaḥ kṛtam* RVKh

apsu dhautasya te deva soma (TS *tr soma deva te*) *ṛbhūh śtutasya* (KS *ṛbhūh stu*^a, TS PB *ṛbhūh sutasya*) TS MS KS PB The mss of MS read *ṛbhū*, which von Schroeder as always (cf §974) changes to *ṛbhūh*, but the presence of final *h*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event

pari bhrātuh pari śvasuh HG ApMB *pari mātuh pari śvasuh* PG *vāyo ve* (TS ApŚ *vīhi*) *stokānām* (VSK *°nām juṣānah*, KS *ṣtokānām*) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ KS † 3 6 (with *ṣve*, not *veṣ*)

SECONDARY CRASIS, AND HIATUS

§989 Secondary crasis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG, which according to Knauer (p xxxviii f) has it quite frequently

dhruvā stri patikule ūyam (MG *°kuleyam*) SMB MG In SMB, also, the *v l* *°kuleyam* is recorded, as well as *°kula ūyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, *°kule ūyam* (with complete hiatus)

uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām (AV *chuṣmauṣ*^a) RV AV VS TS MS KS Whitney would 'probably' read *chuṣmā* (for *°māh*) *oṣ*^a, this is supported by Ppp, cf Whitney's note and Barret, JAOS 35 50 f *viśvādityāh* [pratika] MG This probably refers to the formula *viśva* (PG text *tvīṣve*, with hiatus) *ādityā vasavaś ca devāh* (MG *sarve*) AG PG MG All mss of MG (in the pratika) read *viśvād*^a

sahasradhāre 'va (AV *°dhāra eva*) *te sam asvaran* RV AV KS ApŚ Whitney, note on AV 5 6 3, suggests that RV stands for *°dhārāh*, with double sandhi The RV *p p* reads *°dhāre, ava* Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping *°dhāre* of *p p* The whole verse is difficult and obscure

anāmayardhi etc, see §344

§990 All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context

ado ma āgachatu ApŚ *ado māgachatu* MS KS MŚ (not ApŚ which in 4 13 8 reads *†ma āga*)—In ApŚ *me*, in the others *mā*

māgadhah purīścali kīlavah klīho 'śūdrā abrahmanās (VSK 'śūdrā-brāhmanās) *te prajāpatyāh* VS VSK Two separate words in VS, a compound in VSK So also in the following; cf the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here

aślonā (AV comm *aśro*) *aṅgair ahrutāh* (TA *aślonāṅgair ahr̥tā*, Poona ed *ahrutāh*, v 1 *†ā*) *svargē* AV TA 'Unmanned in limbs', or 'with unmanned limbs' Cf preceding

ākrayāyā ayogūm VS *ākrayāyāyogūm* (so Poona ed text and comm) TB Different genders, fem in VS, masc in TB

saha ojah (VS *sahaujah*, VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK AB GB AŚ Vait In VS VSK *saha* plus *ojas* (on VSK's sandhi see §731), in the others, *sahas* plus *ojas* The latter form is probably original

yathauka ṛṣir (KS **karṣir*) *vijānate* KS TA ApŚ See §919, end *yā* (MS *ya*) *īṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *yefu vā yātudhānāh* KS Serpents are referred to 'who are mistles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS makes reasonable sense 'either in whom are sorcerers' (correlative with the following, which see) But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *īṣavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi or they may be called the converse of them In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular, in those we are about to give, it is irregular A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable

uia śravasā (MS *śravasa ā*) *pr̥thivīm* VS TS MS TA The p p of MS reads *śravasah*, ā, but both meter and sense show that the MS has a stupid blunder

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N See §832

vasneva (KS *vasna va*) *vikrīnāvahai* VS TS MS ŚB AŚ Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom-acc plur of an *a*-stem (*vasna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vasnā* (so MS p p), rather

than *varṇa*. We have, then, in KS perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in *ā-r* = RV etc *a-r*, cf Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than *r*. Otherwise KS would be a mere blunder, like MS in the preceding. Cf the next *sapatnā vācam manasā* (AŚ °sa) *upāsātām* TB AŚ 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts must intend *manasā*, TB has complete hiatus, while AŚ (if the text is correct, we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi', see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion. See also the variant *praty elā vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc, §357.

§392. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations. It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted.

bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhatī (MŚ *rājā arhatī*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ. All Knauer's mss read thus for MŚ, Knauer suggests *plutī*. The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ it could pass for a fair jagatī pāda.

pavaṣva deva āyuṣak (RV *devāyuṣak*) RV SV PR. The accent in SV (*devā*) indicates a nom form, but Benfey translates a voc. In any case SV is secondary, and metri gr.

pāpmānam uta vāgham (SMB *vā agham*) SMB ApMB HG. Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons.

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS *ā puṣam etv ā vasu* AV. Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS, in AV the meter is improved without fusion.

tatra indro bṛhaspathī VS *tatrā* (SV *tatra*) *no brahmanaspathī* RV SV. Hiatus metri gratia in VS.

tan mā (Vait *mā*) *āpyāyālām punah* GB Vait. Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait. Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR only in one epic passage (Mbh 5 509). In GB (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements. But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

sam tvā rinanti (Vait *rinanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait. The hiatus in Vait may be connected with pronunciation of *r* as *ri*, see §676.

punantu ṛṣayah TA MahānU. Hiatus in both forms.

darvyā hotārāgna (MS °gnā, ŚŚ *hotārā agna*) *ājyasya vītām* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ. Probably ŚŚ stands for *hotārā*, not °rāu, and therefore has hiatus, see §885d. For *hotārāu* we should expect °rāv in ŚŚ.

achdrā usyāh padānu takṣuh TS *achdroṣyāh kavayāh padānutakṣuh* (see §627) KS Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achdrā* went with *padā* as in KS, but TS p p *achdrāh*, with *usyāh*, and so comm *abhīm* (SV *abhī*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV SV Cf *abhīm ṛtasya* (SV *abhy ṛṣṭasya*) *sudughā ghṛtāścutah* RV SV On m as "Hiatus-talger" see §309

pitṛbhyah svadhāstu (MahānU *svadhā astu*) TA MahānU

§993 With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts, in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical *ā* declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā* declension in *ā*. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait texts, and according to TS p p and TPr 5 2, 10 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*

māsi MS MŚ *mā asī* TA ApŚ Likewise (in MS TA) *pramā*, *unmā*, *vimā*, *sammā*, *pratimā*

sahasrasya pramāsi (TS *°mā asī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The same with *pratimā*, and *sahasrasyonmā*

§994. The next is different in character

manāsi (KS *manā asī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas*. In KS it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom *manā's*). In the others it becomes an *ā* stem

§995 The next group contains textually dubious cases

pitarāś ca upāsate (VS *copā°*) RVKh VS The hiatus improves the meter, but Scheftelowitz reads *copāsate*, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads *copa āsate*, with hiatus in a different place

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG *medhāpsarahsu*) RVKh MG The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's mss read *medhā aps°* in MG, and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads *medhāps°* in RVKh without report of variant, he also reads *°psarassu*

devā brahmāna āgachata āgachata GB, Conc *de° bra° āgachatāgachatāgachata* LŚ But Gastra reads for GB *āgachatāgachata*, he notes a v l *āgachatā āga°*

vibhūr vibhāvā suṣakkhā (AV *sakha ā*) *sakhīyate* RV AV So the mss of AV, leaving *sakha* unaccented, SPP follows them, the vulgate ed reads *sākhā ā'*. It seems at least possible that the AV. mss correctly

present the Atharvan tradition, the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his Transl. assumes *sakkhā'* (fusion of *sakkhā* and *ā'*)

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous, in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus.

semām (AV *sa imām*) *no havyadātīm juṣānah* RV AV VS TS MS
KSA Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV should probably be read
sa imām

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV Kauś *sa id dhotā*) RV AV TS MS
KS ŚB Kauś Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV omits the particle *u*

sa imām (ŚG *semām*) *devah pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varunah*) ŚG AG
SMB

soma āyusmān sa oṣadhībhir (PG *sauṣa*°) *āyusmān* TS KS PG ApMB
This passage is prose PG is hyper-archaizing

INDEXES

INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, *ā* as a sound, and *ya* as a phonetic combination (which varies with *i*, *ī*, and *e*), are treated here, but *ā* the preposition or privative prefix, and *ya* the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the Indexes are to sections.

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Note —Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf. Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc.) with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, *not* listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras. The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here. Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction. It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means. Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word, only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed. The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences. —In this Index the colon (:) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for'. References are to sections.

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